Kelly Park

SAGINAW HISTORY

Part I

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD

By

FRED DUSTIN

FOREWARD

In nearly every community may be found certain individuals who stand out as unique characters, whose individuality is so definite that it seems certain that the Creator must have turned them out as a special order. Such a person is Mr. Fred Dustin. Denied the advantages of a high school education, he saw fit to make his education a continuing, life-long process. Blessed with a retentive memory and an absorbing interest in reading, he accumulated a fund of information equalled by few.

Born in eastern New York, he came to Saginaw as a young man and took part in the closing years of the lumber industry. For over sixty years, he has kept his keen eye on Saginaw's growth and development, and has built up a most remarkable accumulation of factual data bearing on Saginaw through personal interviews with many of the sturdy old characters who helped build this city, and by a lifetime of reading and study.

In addition to his interest in Saginaw and Michigan History, Mr. Dustin has been recognized by the University of Michigan and Cranbrook Institute of Science for his research in the Archaeology of the Saginaw region and is the author of many papers bearing on the subject. His collection of pre-historic artifacts from local Indian Village Sites is now housed in the University Museum.

The foregoing discussion makes it clear why some of us were desirous of having Mr. Dustin commissioned to write the history of Saginaw. This was made possible through the generosity of Mr. Arthur R. Treanor, President of the Saginaw Museum.

Dr. Rockwell M. Kempton

SAGINAW IN THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD

INTRODUCTION

The genesis of this attempt to give some authentic information as to the prehistoric period of this part of Michigan was a four-page leaflet prepared for the Saginaw Museum's first Historical Exhibition beginning March 2, 1948. Late in the same year, Dr. Rockwell M. Kempton, Chairman of the Historical Committee, suggested to the Museum Board that a summarized history of Saginaw County be prepared which would include some notes on the archaeology of the Saginaw region in general, and Saginaw County in particular. The Museum Board was favorable to the idea and commissioned the author to do the work.

Realizing from the first that too much detail would not be advisable in such a publication, I have endeavored to touch but lightly on some of the points which might be of great interest to the archaeologist, but which to the layman would prove to be tedious.

To the average person, but more especially to the child, archaeological specimens are of greater educational value if explained in understandable language rather than a mere cataloging of local environment of the people who came before us. For these reasons, speculation has been indulged in but little; likewise, a too realistic picture has been avoided; the Indian has not been idealized nor has the hard and sordid side of Indian life been dramatized.

The present-day so-called "realistic" school of literature reeks with uncleaness, and emphasizes the brutal, the utterly coarse, the profane and the cheap levity and pursuit of excitement that marks the period, but there is a hard core of decency in our people as a whole, and so there was in the Indian according to his light.

It is hoped that the reader will find sufficient of interest in the following pages to justify their preparation and to warrant publication by the Board of Directors of the Saginaw Museum.

In so large a country as our own any generalizations of the American Indian as to customs, dress and manner of life are impossible, aside from the fact that they are a distinct race of people, and as such were set apart from the African Negro, the Mongol or the Caucasian. There was no general language and no general customs if we except smoking. The Indians of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan were as different from the Iroquois of New York, from the Dakota of the plains, from the Hopi of the extreme southwest or the Nez Perce of the northwest as the Italian is from the Russian, the Englishman from the Spaniard, the Norwegian from the Greek or the Frenchman from the Hungarian.

According to the first historical records of the Saginaw country, it was occupied by the Chippewas with Potowatomies and Ottawas as near neighbors, and in their legends we find stories that seem to have considerable confirmation that the Sauks, or as the Chippewas called them, the Saug-ee, were the original inhabitants of a considerable portion of the eastern part of the lower peninsula.

The Sauks belonged to the same language stock as the tribes above mentioned, but their dialect was so different that there was little communication between them.

Our best authorities inform us that in North America north of the Mexican border that there are "58 distinct linguistic families" or stocks, and many of these language families have diverse dialects in considerable number, the Algonquian, to which the Chippewas belong, having no less than thirty-six.
It is to the Chippewas in particular that the following data applies.

Saginaw, Michigan
1949

Fred Dustin

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A GENERAL SURVEY

"The Saginaw Valley" is an indefinite term. Properly speaking, a valley in its simplest definition is "low land between hills or mountains" and certainly the Saginaw River formed by the union of the Tittabawassee and Shiawassee Rivers, and having a total length of approximately twenty miles, slowly creeping through a vast tract of lowland and marsh, can hardly be described as running through a valley. "The Saginaw district" is rather indefinite, while the term "Saginaw Region" seems to more fully define the largest drainage system in the State, and for the purpose of this paper will be used in sketching the archaeology of the most important center of primitive man in Michigan.

There were many good reasons why the Saginaw Country attracted the Indian, and they may be enumerated as follows: First of all,an abundance of game and fish. Second, rich river-bottom land most suitable for growing corn. Third, an abundance of nuts, such as black walnuts, beechnuts, butternuts, hazel nuts and most plentiful of all, hickory-nuts. Wild fruits, such as plums, sheep or nanny berries, red and black cherries, choke cherries, cranberries and perhaps blackberries and raspberries were plentiful, while maple sugar was a bountiful luxury of Indian Life. The pin, Indian or wild potato, from which Pinconning takes its name, was another item of food that in certain localities along the banks of streams grew in fair quantity, while in the shallow waters of the Shiawassee where it passed through the Great Marsh above the confluence of that river and the Tittabawassee, extensive beds of wild rice flourished and formed a not inconsiderable winter store.

A fourth element of great importance was the converging streams that ultimately united to form the Saginaw River, and by it to finally, after a long course, find their way to the sea. From the northeast came the Cass, formerly called the Huron; from the northwest, the Swan Creek from the southeast, the Flint, and from the southwest, the Bad River, all entering the Shiawassee in the order given. The feeders of the Tittabawassee are the Chippewa into which the Pine enters a mile above the mouth of

the former at Midland; the Salt, so-called from the salt springs flowing from its banks and those of the Tittabawassee into which it enters near Sanford; the Tobacco coming in at Edenville, - old "Sixteen" of lumbering days, so named because it was in Section Sixteen, while the Sugar and the Molasses were the last tributaries to form with the main stem which headed in Ogemaw County, a primary highway for millions of pine logs which with more millions from the other tributaries were finally floated to Saginaw and Bay City to pass through the sawmills, and at last by water and rail to become materials for innumerable dwellings in Michigan and adjoining states.

As the main course of the Tittabawassee and its feeders was north and northwest, it will be seen that this watershed roughly covered three-fourths of a circle of a tract of land and water having as its center the confluence of the two rivers forming the Saginaw with its outer boundary the sources of the streams named.

All the tributaries of the Tittabawassee above mentioned were navigable by canoe far up toward their headwaters, so that the Indian entering his bark at Byron on the Shiawassee or at Sixteen on the Tittabawassee could, if he chose, paddle to the present Duluth with a single portage at the Soo, or to the Atlantic Ocean with two or three longer portages.

The great forests of the region, pine, hardwood and hemlock, gave shelter to game and furnished fuel and material for the rude dwellings of the aborigines, as well as materials for the birch bark canoe or for the log dugout.

With all these facilities for primitive life, it naturally came about that like the streams, numerous trails converged at the place where SAGINAW had its beginnings in what is now the southern part of the city, on the low prairie opposite to and northwest of the narrow point between the Shiawassee and the

Tittabawassee Rivers, called by the Chippewas O-zhaw-wash-quah- "Green Point". Here thousands of Indian artifacts have been found, and two large mounds standing side by side, have caused much speculation and created some legends of hidden treasure. Here headed a trail from Detroit by way of the present Flint and Bridgeport, and another trail from Detroit by way of Owosso and Chesaning, entering the present city of Saginaw from the west. A third trail from Lake Michigan, followed up the Grand River to the Maple River and up the latter to near Banister in Gratiot County and across to the South Branch of the Bad River down to St. Charles, where it entered the Detroit-Owosso Saginaw Trail and on to Saginaw, entering near the ruins of the old Plate Glass Works on West Michigan Avenue.

The general term for what is now Saginaw, but more particularly the mount locality and northward to the higher ground of which the present court house is a center was Kah-bay-shay-way-ning- "The Gathering Place", the nearest phrase the Chippewas had for home.

Another great trail ran northwest to the Tittabawassee River which it followed to near its sources in Ogemaw County, then on to Houghton Lake and from there to Mackinaw. Still another important trail approximately followed North Michigan Avenue, and was its forerunner. It passed northward through Carrollton Township, and a bit of its old course is seen in that crooked piece of road beginning at Shattuck Road and running northwest a half-mile, from which point it continued on northward to near the present bridge on M-47 across Squawconning Creek, on through West Bay City, and following sand ridge or shore, continued on to Mackinaw by way of Omer, Tawas, Oscoda and Cheboygan.

Trails on both sides of the Cass River ran up into "The Thumb" and another up the southerly side of the Tittabawassee and on to the headwaters of the Pine and Chippewa. There were also cross-country branches and minor trails,most of which can be seen on the Hinsdale-Stevens Archaeological Atlas of Michigan.

As all that has been previously related centers in Saginaw, it follows that the archaeology of the region may well be represented by that of this county, with lighter touches on some of the more important remains in surrounding or contributing territory.

Having briefly discussed some of the natural features of the region, one may proceed to a description of the various archaeological evidences by which the prehistoric culture may be interpreted. In attempting to understand what happened during the years immediately following the coming of white men to this region, it becomes necessary to actually picture ourselves as strangers settling in a new and primitive country. There would be a period of years which might be termed a twilight zone, i.e., a blending of the prehistoric and historic. Our early ancestors found the Red Men using the weapons, tools and utensils they had used for centuries. To practically all white people these artifacts were little more than curious, barbaric and "outlandish", to use a term common in early days. Rarely some educated person or one of inquiring mind, made inquiry as to the use of certain articles for which they could see no use, such as the so-called "Bird Stones", but in general, all, including the pottery vessels were considered to be little more than rubbish, to be consigned to the junk-heap. Religious bigotry saw in the Indians a race of benighted heathen, and their belongings, such as the bird or animal figurines wrought in stone, as the charms and amulets of degraded savages, when, as a matter of fact, they were nothing of the kind. It was owing to this state of mind that so much was irreparably lost that might have been saved and its use put on accurate record. There were no Schoolcrafts among the early English settlers, while as to the French, it is true that a very few of the Jesuit priests did make some record of Indian life and culture, but it was entirely from the white man's viewpoint, and limited by an almost complete lack of understanding.

INDIAN VILLAGE SITES

Few writers have understood the Indian, and few have gained his full confidence. His "secrecy" was no more or less than the secrecy of the purely fraternal organizations that exist today, or the reserve in which many people hold their religious beliefs. In consequence of this lack of recorded information, it has been the task of the archaeologist to piece together as it were, the fragments of a lost culture, and to interpret from his remains and his tools something of the life and living of the Red Man before the advent of the whites. In the following pages the author has drawn largely on his published papers, and still more on his unpublished manuscripts, field notes and memoranda. He has also made use of the most competent authorities, and is indebted to Mr. Ralph Stroebel of Saginaw, and Mr. Arthur L. Walser of Chesaning for valuable data as to certain Indian village and camp sites in Saginaw County.

The question is sometimes asked, "How is it possible to find a village site?" The answer may be, if we were in western Asia, for instance, and came across the ruins of an ancient city, such as crumbling walls, broken columns and so forth, our evidence would be as complete as necessary to convince us that once men lived there. In most of our country, the Indian habitations were of fragile and quickly perishable material, so we must look to what the plow turns up, to bring to light some relics of the past, and if we find fragments of pottery, arrowpoints, scrapers, etc., we are well satisfied that we have discovered an Indian camp or village site. It is, therefore, evident that the first effort of the archaeologist is to find the places where the Indian had his habitations, to locate village and camp sites. In the Saginaw Region with its network of streams, the archaeologist may follow the course of one of the rivers, and coming to a high bank at a bend, he will feel certain that here is a spot that should be looked over. The Indian was always on the lookout for friends or foes, and from an elevation with a long view up and down the stream, their approach in canoes or on the ice could be seen while they were

McCormick, all in Taymouth Township.

Some of these sites are quite extensive, such as the Fraser and Foster sites each of which apparently extended over more than a hundred acres. It must not be understood that the distribution is equal over the entire areas, for there are large spaces where no artifacts have been found, such as in very low places or on ground not adapted to habitation, so that the pattern might be compared to the present city of Saginaw, where wide areas have a few or no dwellings. It is probable that certain groups tended to live together as clans or perhaps gravitated to a common center, or around the dwelling of some chief or "medicine man" of repute.

The amateur archaeologist is quite apt to overestimate the possible population of these ancient villages, most of which probably consisted of only a small number of families. The great abundance of arrowpoints, potsherds and other artifacts found at certain village sites is the accumulation over long periods of time, in some instances probably hundreds of years.

The author has observed that with few exceptions, the most extensive sites were at strategic points, almost invariably on or near a stream, and, to a great extent, this also applies to smaller villages and temporary camps.

SOME INDIAN NAMES

The spelling, pronounciation and accurate definition of Indian names and words, even those of some particular tribe, is not only difficult but confusing. Arbitrary pronounciation such as "Chippe way" by one and "Chippe WAUGH" by another is often heard in Michigan. It is best to use that which the Chippewas (O-jib-ways) called themselves, so it follows that Chippe WAY is correct.

Many years ago, the author became acquainted with DANIEL WHEATON, a full-blooded Chippewa Indian, born around 1830 in Saginaw County. Mr. Wheaton was a highly intelligent person and his native eloquence was such that he left one with a deep impression of having met an unusual personage. At the time I knew him, he was in his

yet at a distance. Another, although a minor reason, was that during the warm season, the lesser number of mosquitoes and certain biting flies on these high banks made it a favorite summer camp. In addition, breezes which often followed the larger water courses, added to the comfort, as well as diminishing the number of tormenting insects. A good example of this type of village site is the Frazer Village in James and Thomas Townships in Saginaw County.

Winter camps were usually on lower grounds, such as river bottoms where the forest growth formed a partial protection from the winter winds, a fair type being the Green Point Village in the extreme south part of Saginaw in the vicinity of the mounds before mentioned.

In a paper read before the Michigan Academy of Science in 1929, the author enumerated eighty-five village and camp sites from which he had collected remains in Saginaw County alone, and previously, Harlan I. Smith had located and collected from eighteen other sites. Since the author's collecting began, Mr.Arthur L. Walser has named about thirty additional sites in the southwest part of the county, while Mr. Stroebel has added seven or eight in the northern part, and the author seven, making a total of nearly one hundred and fifty village sites in Saginaw County alone.

A few of the more important may be named as follows: Kah-bay-shay-way-ning and Green Point, both in the present Saginaw City limits; Stroebel, southwest of the present Center Road (Merrill) Bridge; Branch Flats (now destroyed) two hundred yards west of the State Street Bridge, on the north side of the road; Bryant's Trip near Bryant's Trip in Thomas Township. On the Shiawassee River, Bear Creek in Albee Township; Ponto, in the south part of Chesaning Township. On or near Swan Creek, Black Elk in Swan Creek Township; Sand Ridge in Thomas Township. On the Cass River, Campau, Dead Creek, Satchell and Jerome all in Frankenmuth Township, and on the Flint River, Peonigoing, Taymouth, Foster and

eighties, and his story, not to be told here, was of great interest. It is sufficient to say that in his young manhood, he attended for two years a Methodist Seminary, now Albion College, and for fifty years following preached to his fellows. He had the respect of all, both Indian and White, who knew him. Mr. Wheaton gave the author much information, and this portion of the story together with the Indian names is largely based on his authority. It is the author's regret that circumstances prevented him from having more interviews and from making extensive notes from such a sound authority. Mr. Wheaton had an excellent English vocabulary, and while it is difficult for an untrained ear to get the correct sounds of another tongue, what follows will be in part, at least, spelled phonetically as nearly as possible.

The name Saginaw evolved from the shortening of a Chippewa phrase Saugee-an-te-nah-ke-wat--" Where the Saugee (Sauks) were". The name SAGINAW passed through about twenty different spellings and pronounciations. One notes in the Military Records of 1922-23 "Sagana Bay", in Tanner's Narrative "Saw- (or Sau) ge-nong"; in the London edition of "Dwight's Travels in New England and New York", we find "A large bay (Saginaw) on the south-western side (or Lake Huron) called Saganaum-Bay". In the Bureau of Ethnology's "Handbook of American Indians", we find nineteen ways of spelling Saginaw, not including Dwight's. The derivative given by Mr. Wheaton gives us a natural gradation from the original phrase to Saug-e-nah or Saginaw.

A few places and streams in the Saginaw Region have retained either the more or less corrupted Indian name or an English translation. Among the more prominent the following may be noted:

BAD RIVER - The two branches of which are now called the North and South Branches. The Chippewas gave each branch a name, the south branch being Maw-tchi-Sebe, literally, "Bad River" on account of the difficulty in navigating it. The north branch was Mis-a-bos- "White Rabbit", so called on

account of the numerous snow-shoe or white rabbits on the high grounds bordering much of its course.

BEAR CREEK - The translation of the name of a stream entering the Shiawassee River in St. Charles Township. The Chippewas called it "Maw-kwa-Sebe" (bear river).

CASS RIVER - Na-da-way, "I bring him in a canoe", was the original Indian name, probably referring to some notable event connected with the stream. It was also called "the river of the Hurons" based on a legend concerning the expulsion of the Hurons by the Iroquois.

CHEBOYGANING CREEK - "Place of the Big Pipe" - Baraga's dictionary gives it. This seems to be incorrect for other authorities, among them a very well educated Indian informs us that "Cheboygan" means "a sound like that of the passing of a needle through fabric or skin". The suffix "ing" means place.

CROW ISLAND - In the treaty of 1819, certain lands including an island in Saginaw River were reserved for Kish-kaw-ko, "the Crow", said to be a minor chief of the Chippewas, and this tract of land still bears the name of the former reservee.

KAWKAWLIN - according to some authorities, a corruption of Kaw-kaw-ing, "crow place", but others, "pickerel place". William R. McCormick says, "Kawkawlin was called by the Indians O -kaw-waw-ning, the meaning of which is pickerel river", but he is at least somewhat in error for the suffix "ing" is place instead of river. This is a good illustration of the confusion resulting from attempts at translation.

MISTEGUAY CREEK - a corruption of Me-zhe-say, "wild turkey". This creek has its source in Shiawassee County and enters the Flint river five miles above its mouth.

PINCONNING - village and creek - an Indian name meaning "the place of the wild potato", not the potato of the market, but a small tuber called by that name, of which the late Dr. Melvin R. Gilmore, a very competent authority says, "In

the Chippewa language pin is a generic term signifying 'tuber', and is applied to many tuberous growths." In this case, it designates the Apios tuberosa -- commonly known as "rosary root", as it grows on long, slender roots, like beads on a string considerably separated. Great quantities grew along Pinconning Creek and were harvested by the Indians. "For this reason," says Dr. Gilmore, "they called the locality Pini-kaning, which is to say, the place of the pin."

POTATO CREEK - A small stream emptying into the South Branch of the Bad River was not "potato creek" to the Indians but was called Wapo-sebe-Swan River.

SEBEWAING - A corruption of Sebe-wens, literally--"little river". Sebe is "river"; wens is a diminutive ending.

SHIAWASSEE - a corruption of O-zhaw-wask-kwaw Sebe -- "green river", easily reducted to Shiawassee. Daniel Wheaton gave the author this name, and as it sounded when he spoke it quickly, seemed like Shows-ko-kon accent on the last syllable, the first syllable pronounced as shouse. The difficulty of pronounciation by an English-speaking person may be realized. Mr. Wheaton said the river took its name from the vast green Marshes above its mouth, and that green did not exactly define the Indian meaning, but was nearest a true translation.

SWAN CREEK - an erroneous rendering of She-sheeb Se-be, all e's pronounced as in eat, "Duck Creek".

TITTABAWASSEE - a corruption and shortening of an Indian phrase signifying "the river that follows the shore". Note its course on the map making about the same curve that Saginaw Bay shows.

CHESANING - "big rock place". When the first white settlers arrived in the vicinity of the present village, there was a great limestone rock in the river which later was blasted and used for making lime. Also at some distance eastward there yet remains a huge boulder of igneous rock which may have had its part in the Indian designation, and for several generations back, it has been supposed to be the "Chesaning Rock", and has appeared in the news print

and on souvenir postal cards as such.

There were other names, now unused or forgotten, such as Te-waw-bawk-ing "hickory place", which designated a tract of land of which the Hoyt Library is about the center, so-called because of the great number of hickory trees growing there. Perhaps enough names have been given for the present paper.

Henry R. Schoolcraft proposed giving Indian names to the counties of Michigan, and it is unfortunate that his proposal was not followed. There are a super-abundance of Jackson Counties in the United States;Calhoun brings no patriotic emotion, rather the reverse; a few like Cass, Clinton, Macomb, Houghton, Wayne and Schoolcraft are of "honorable mention". About half bear names derived from Indian names or words, while the rest are either colorless or have no relation whatever to the State or its history, having been named by political favor or other factors of even less value.

In the matter of Indian names, information from a good authority is very essential if we are looking for truth, but conjecture or actual invention has no place in history. Years ago, some "historian" offered "Wanigas" - Saginaw spelled backward - as the origin of the present name. Another person addressing one of our clubs informed his hearers that the Dixie Highway from Detroit to Saginaw followed the old Indian trail. In certain stretches between Flint and Detroit, it does approximately, but from Flint to Saginaw, the assertion belongs with "Wanigas".

A more reasonable conjecture has been that Wahjamega is a purely Indian name; it sounds like one, but it is composed of the initials of the HEARTT family who either owned or settled lands thereabouts. "Wah" from William A Heartt; "J" from Josiah; "A" from Alanzo; "M" from Margaret; "E" from Eliza; "G" from George and "A" from Amelia- seven members of the Heartt family.

MOUNDS AND EARTHWORKS

To the average person, "Indian Mounds" have always been mysterious structures, and often myth and legend have added to the supposed mystery. "Pots of gold" or "Pots of silver" have figured in their supposed stories and the Mound Builders have been a subject of much speculation and imagination. As a whole, the many Michigan mounds have been burial structures. In most instances, a gradual growth was caused by successive burials in which the earth was heaped over the remains which had been laid close by, or in time, above former burials, thus gradually increasing the height. It was in this manner that the Green Point Mounds in the extreme south part of the City of Saginaw were formed. The larger mound is about one hundred feet in diameter on the ground, the other very close to it on the west is about ninety feet in diameter. When first seen by the author nearly sixty years ago, before their leveling by plow, harrow and freshet, they were about five feet high, but at present are about half that height. A former owner developed the "pot of silver" complex in one of these mounds, and finally, as the idea grew on him, forbade all collecting in the vicinity. It is quite possible that some of these treasure legends arose from the fact that at times silver crosses were found with bones in single graves or in "mound" burials. They were at times presented by Jesuit priests to certain Indians and were greatly treasured by them exactly the same as a so-called "bird stone" was treasured, for the latter was a totemic symbol of a clan, just as the Three Links is the symbol of the Order of Odd Fellows, but not in the same sense, for the clan was not a secret society. The Cross was the white man's symbol, and as Indians were of a reverent nature and broadly tolerant, the cross was reckoned as being equal with their own symbolic representations.

Near the edge of the largest of the Green Point Mounds, the owner above mentioned some forty or more years ago plowed up the remains of an Indian woman. She had been buried in a long robe of white manufacture, down the front it was ornamented with thin silver bosses and scrolls, all of which together might weigh a couple of ounces, so that the silver myth had a better foundation than most similar aberations. This woman was buried around 1837 and was the last Indian burial there as a great flood subsequently caused it to be abandoned as a winter camp. The skeleton was easily identified, owing to a former break or dislocation of the hip-bone, as the burual was recorded in the Michigan Pioneer Collections.

Some so-called mounds are natural sand knolls which, owing to the ease with which the soil responded to their crude tools, were favorite burial places of the Indians. Such was the noted Frazer Mound at the Frazer Village Site, where literally hundreds of skeletons have been unearthed, owing in part to the operation of a brick yard close by which used the same in the manufacture of clay brick. Another such mound was on the Cass River located a half-mile or less west of the Dixie Highway at the Cass River Bridge.

This knoll has been entirely destroyed, first in part by farmers who used the same for various purposes, and the "good work" was completed when the highway was built at which time the remaining sand was sold for grading. Thus another loss to the archaeology of the County was counted in its destruction.

Other mounds were mentioned by Harlan I. Smith who opened several, one of which, the Ayers mound, was destroyed with three others which the author had examined and described previous to the time the waterworks was built in Rust Park, and the grounds "improved" by leveling the four mounds.

Well within the author's memory, a small mound was raised in the Taymouth Indian Cemetery, and he recalls it as a memorial to Civil War Indian veterans, some of whom belonged to Berdan's Sharpshooters and are buried here with other Indian Civil War soldiers. This little mound is in the back side of the cemetery. Incidentally, it may be noted that among the scores of Indians buried in this resting place, the churchyard of the Indian Methodist Church, on the banks of the Flint River, only two white persons, one the white wife of an Indian, the other the white husband of an Indian girl, rest here.

Another large mound was at Bridgeport, a natural sand hilloch from which was taken years ago many prehistoric articles. Among them was a very large pottery vessel, a mortuary urn, turned bottom up over a skull which was described by Harlan I. Smith in "The Saginaw Valley Collection." From this same mound, the author removed part of another vessel, evidently considerably larger than the Andross Urn, as the fragment was about fifteen inches wide by two feet or more in length. This knoll, named by Mr. Smith, the Andross Mound, has been completely destroyed. It stood on the north side of the Washington Road and not far east of the Pere Marquette Railroad track. A considerable number of other mounds once existed in Saginaw County, but most of them have entirely disappeared.

While not in the Saginaw watershed, the Rifle River, entering Saginaw Bay near Omer, may be said to be in the Saginaw Region. On the banks of this river, not far from West Branch, there are three large earthworks, and less than half a mile from the river, a fourth. In the same county, Ogemaw, near the headwaters of the Tittabawassee River, two more have been reported but so far as known to the author, are still unsurveyed. The first four mentioned have been described by several persons, the first being Dr. M.I. Leach of Traverse City in 1884, and later by Harlan I. Smith. In 1923, Dr. Wilbert B. Hinsdale with a party from the University of Michigan spent some days

in exploring these works, and in 1931 the author was commissioned by the Cranbrook Institute of Science to make a survey and a description of the four. A report on the same was published by the Institute in 1932.

The largest of these earthworks is over 300 feet in its greatest diameter; it is nearly circular in outline; the circumference around the crest of the earth-wall is 930 feet, the wall being about three and one-half feet high, or seven feet from the bottom of the ditch which is outside the enclosure. There are four original openings or "gateways" in it.

A second earthwork is a half-mile northwest and is directly on the high, steep bank of the river, its generally circular form modified by the river bank. In certain respects it is the most interesting of the four. Its greatest diameter is a little less than two hundred feet with four original gateways. The third earthwork, lying on the edge of a low bluff, like the others, is circular in its general outlines, which by its situation is somewhat modified. The river is about 150 feet distant. These three works are on the east side of the Rifle, while the fourth, about a mile and a quarter south of Highway M-55 is on the west side on a high bank near the mouth of Sheppard's Creek. It is not a complete enclosure for its extremities rest on the steep river bank where it breaks sharply down to the river. Its outline is a rough half-circle with only one original gateway to the northwest. The distance north and south between the crests of the walls is two hundred and sixteen feet.

The use of these earthworks has been a matter of conjecture as well as who constructed them. They are the type found so frequently in New York which were constructed by the Iroquois as defensive structures. It seems quite possible that these Michigan works were raised by some people of the Iroquois stock, quite possibly the Hurons. There are pine stumps on some of the walls indicating an age of more than four hundred years. The trees were cut more than fifty years

ago, so that we may feel assured that they were growing before Columbus made his visit to the New World.

Strangely, however, the numerous pottery remains found in these works are practically all of the Algonquian type although the Chippewas do not seem to have entered Lower Michigan until about the sixteenth century, but other people of the family stock were probably here long before. More careful excavation may reveal a previous culture, but the indiscriminate digging that has marred these works is a sad commentary on our appreciation of historical monuments.

STORAGE PITS

It has been said that the Indian was improvident; that when he had killed a deer or other game, he gorged himself on its flesh. This was in part true, and for an excellent reason--he had no electric refrigerator, and in warm weather meat quickly spoiled, so he was wise in using it, for he could not say positively when he could get more; the corner grocery was in the dim future, and his meat market did not afford fresh cuts for the asking, so he was forced to be an opportunist so far as food went, but not willingly. Foodstuffs that were not quickly perishable were stored for winter use, and in the Saginaw Region, much corn was grown and wild rice harvested. To preserve it, the Indian constructed what whites commonly called "corn pits", for corn was usually the chief food-stuff stored. These pits were, if possible, dug in dry sand where the drainage was good, preferably on a sand knoll or hillock, a fine example of which still exists in Frankenmuth Township. It was surveyed by the author in 1934. The pits are located on an abrupt sand knoll near the Cass River, and thirty-six were identified and platted. Another group is located in Taymouth Township which Mr. Ralph Stroebel platted after making a careful examination. Another large group formerly existed on the farm of the late John McGregor in Section Seventeen, Tittabawassee Township. These pits were

carefully lined with bark, and from early accounts were so well prepared that corn kept perfectly as well as some other supplies, such as nuts, dried berries, plums, maple sugar and wild rice. They were not used for food supplies alone, but were convenient receptacles for storage of other property.

HABITATIONS

If one visits a school in this part of the state where the children are studying about the Indians, he will invariably see pictured on the blackboard or paper, a conical tepee. It seems that the rather romantic conception of an Indian domicile is of that type, but as a matter of fact the pointed tepee was practically confined to the Plains Indians such as the Dakota, (Sioux) Cheyenne, Comanche or Crow who were largely buffalo-hunters and who used the skins of those animals for clothing and as the covering for their tepee dwellings. There were several types of housing among the aborigines. We find the "Long House" of the Iroquois, a rectangular structure of which its essential framed parts were saplings of various sizes; the stone pueblo of the southwest; the hogan of the navaho ; the great earth-lodge of the Arikari, while in our own State the typical dwelling was the oval wigwam outwardly shaped like a huge beaver-house, the frame of which was small saplings tied together with bark cord and covered with bark. In the center a circular hole was dug in the ground about two feet in diameter and perhaps a foot or more deep, and stones as large as a man's two fists or larger were used to form a bed for the bottom of the hole. In cold weather these stones and the accumulation of ashes held the heat through the night. A hole on one side served as a doorway, and was covered with a sheet of bark or with a tanned skin with the hair left on. A small smokehole was left on top. When well built, these barkcovered cabins were fairly comfortable even in moderately cold weather.

CLOTHING

The art of weaving aside from some forms of basketry was at a rather low point in this region among the Chippewas. They had neither wool nor cotton and so far as known, the Indian hemp which is quite common had not been utilized for its fiber. As a consequence, the clothing of this people came from the animals which were plentiful, such as the bear, elk, deer, beaver, otter and others. The deer skin was the chief source for garments, leggings and moccasins, but perhaps the elk, with its much heavier skin, may have been used more for moccasins, just as the moose was used in its range. The making of this clothing must have been a slow process for with bone awls for needles, sinew for thread and porcupine's quills for ornament, to say nothing of very primitive substitutes for shears and scissors, the Indian had a task that the white housewife or man-tailor can know nothing about, and may be thankful that the sewing machine and "mass-production" turns out our shoes by the millions and women's garments by the hundred thousand, giving our women time for a dozen clubs or other organizations which were still in the unsuspected future two hundred years ago in what is now Michigan. Bear skins well tanned provided fine sleeping robes. The covering of thick, warm hair was needed for the bitter cold of winter. The fragile dwelling sometimes meant temperatures at zero or lower which their small fires scarcely alleviated, and no doubt winters of unusual length or severity often resulted in starvation and death from cold.

Furs were sometimes used, but like ladies' fur coats in midsummer were often worn for ornament rather than utility, although in winter to a certain extent they were used for absolute protection. While the Indian was hardened to the cold to a degree incredible to the present-day city dweller, there was a limit to his endurance, and he naturally availed himself of such protection as was within his reach.

The typical costume of a man was of tanned buckskin, and consisted of a shirt which hung over the hips and was provided with a sort of hood or cowl which could be drawn over the head, breech-cloth, long-leggings tied to a belt around the waist and moccasins. The woman's dress differed from the man's, the shirt being much longer and might be described as a gown with loose sleeves coming to the elbows and confined at the waist with a belt, with leggings and moccasins all of dressed buckskin. The free edges of these garments were left long, and were usually fringed by cutting the dressed skin into narrow strips. This was not for ornament for this fringing prevented puckering and wrinkling when the clothing had been wet. White hunters were quick to copy the idea in making their clothing.

As a rule, each sex made their own clothing, the man being equally handy in the art, although most if not all of the ornamentation of porcupine quills on "dress" moccasins and shirts was done by the women. Bone needles with eyes were practically unknown, although among the Iroquois of New York and Canada they were common, but they were large and confined to coarse work. In sewing, a pointed awl was used to make perforations in the skin. These awls most frequently were of bone but sometimes of copper. The awl was worked to a fine, slender point, and the sewing done in much of the same manner as the old-time shoemaker worked.

A large robe of buckskin or rarely of some fur-bearing animals with the hair left on served as additional winter clothing. This was superseded by the blanket on the advent of the white trader.

While snowshoes cannot be classed with clothing, they were indispensable in winter, and, like other Indian devises, were quickly adopted by the whites.

In the warm weather of summer, the men occasionally laid aside shirt and leggings, but in the country infested with mosquitoes and biting flies, the clothing was generally worn as a protection.

The use of feathers was not as common as many have supposed, although occasionally those of the eagle were worn much the same as an American soldier wears a Medal of Honor or other decoration. We learn that among some of the Chippewas at least, a warrior who had scalped an enemy wore two feathers; if he had taken a wounded prisoner, five feathers were arranged in a certain design as a head decoration. When some artist, amateur or other, depicts a Chippewa Indian arrayed in a gorgeous war-bonnet, he is as much in error as he would be in dressing an American soldier in the uniform of a Chinese soldier or a Knight Templar. These elaborate head gears were used by the Sioux of the plains but never by the Chippewa.

HUNTING AND FISHING

Game was plentiful, but its capture was far from easy for the bow and arrow were weapons that called for a close range and for planting the arrow in a vital spot. For these reasons, the Indian usually stalked his game, watching at the deer-licks, hiding at the runways or lying in ambush at the streams near the places where he knew the wild creatures came down to drink, although in the season of snow, he would follow the tracks of deer or other animal, and, strange as it may seem, would persistently follow a deer until it had tired, and, at last, knowing by its tracks that it would soon lie down to rest, he would stealthily approach, and at last plant his arrow where he wished to and reap the reward of his toil. It is of record that Indians followed the trails of deer for as long as two days, camping on the trail at night, and taking it up again the next morning. A deceased friend of the author, Norman L. Miller, once related a deer-hunting experience when a young man. As recalled, it was in the early winter shortly after the close of the Civil War. At that time, deer were frequently killed within the present city limits. The land from what is now West Michigan Avenue to Brockway Street was nearly all forest , and just west of the present city line, a deer runway ran through this woods from north to south. On this occasion while hunting on this tract,

Mr. Miller struck a deer trail and followed it, but soon noticed a moccasin print in the snow that was also following it ahead of him, and concluded that the Indian wearing it was first in the field and that, therefore, the deer was his, so he struck out for the Brockway Road with the intention of going home, but near the Steltzriede clearing ran upon another deer trail which he followed a short distance when the deer, which was a fine buck, got up in front of him and was promptly shot. He had tied the head and legs together and made ready to drag the carcass out when an Indian appeared following the trail. He glanced at the dead buck and the hunter gave an expressive "Ugh " and, turning on his heel, quickly disappeared in the forest. It was the same deer that he had been following for hours and had tired down to the point of causing it to lie down to rest when it fell a victim of the white hunter who had not earned it. Mr. Miller said that he would have given the deer to the Indian, but he got no chance for he left too quickly. Too few white men were like Mr. Miller.

At this point perhaps it may be well to say a few words about two popular delusions, the first, the common idea of the lazy Indian putting all the hard work on the woman, and the point of the above incident will call attention to the fallacy of this belief. It was no small task to provide sufficent game and meat to supply the needs of an Indian family. This particular Indian had followed that deer possibly for two or even more days until he had tired it out. Was it laborious work? Let some white critic try it to see. When the man got the deer, the woman did her part by dressing it and preparing the meat, and sometimes, not always, bringing it to camp. There were, of course, lazy Indians, but perhaps the proportion of lazy individuals was not greater than in many white families.

The other delusion has to do with the comparative endurance of man on foot and the horse. The old expression "strong as a horse" has long been used to express endurance. In the Indian campaign of 1876 in which Colonel George A. Custer was killed, Colonel John Gibbon's command was composed of six companies of infantry

and four of cavalry. From March 17 to October 6, the infantry marched 1,687 miles as a battalion, while the cavalry as a battalion marched from April 1 to September 29, 1,393 miles. At the end of the season, the infantry was in better condition than the cavalry horses. There are two points to be considered in this comparison; namely, that of the cavalry horses having to carry a man with his equipment; on the other hand, the load of the footman was as heavy proportionately to his carrying capacity as that of the horse. When conditions of travel resulted in short rations, it is possible that man fared better than the horse, but, even so, one can not help being impressed with the remarkable strength and endurance of the human species as compared to animals. The endurance of the Indian was well illustrated in the preceding paragraph.

In Saginaw County general conditions were not favorable for the elk although there were a few from time to time, but in the heart of the Thumb they were plentiful, and each season the Indians of the Saginaw Region made hunting trips for them, camping near the streams usually, and spending some weeks in a sort of a "vacation hunting trip". This took place after the Corn Feast and harvest and after the wild rice had been gathered. At one time, there hung in the Saginaw Auditorium the head of the last elk shot in Saginaw County. Unfortunately, its history seems to have been lost, although it was known that it was killed in Taymouth Township. From time to time, the author has found parts of elk antler and also some of the leg bones, once also, a fine elk's tooth, such as the Order of Elks' members sometimes wear as a watch charm. Elks have only four of this particular kind of teeth, consequently they were in good demand, sometimes at rather high prices.

The smaller fur-bearing animals were nut hunted to any great extent until the coming of the white traders, although those considered as well-suited for food, such as the muskrat, the racoon or the beaver were taken, the young muskrat being especially considered one of the delicacies of the Red Man's menu,

if such we can call it.

As to fishing, the streams swarmed with fish, huge catfish, great pike, large and small-mouth bass, pike-perch or "walleyes", mullets and suckers, perch and sunfish in all the larger streams, while the lake sheepshead must have been a great favorite if we may judge from the number of ear-bones found around the confluence of the Tittabawassee and Shiawassee Rivers. These almost imperishable bones were and still are called "lucky stones" partly from a well defined "L" seemingly sculptured on the convex side. During his collecting days, the author in those thirty-odd years, gathered scores of them, perhaps hundreds, but the sheepshead fish has long since disappeared from the Saginaw River and its tributaries, although they are still quite plentiful in some of the Great Lakes. The muscalunge and sturgeon were also numerous in their season.

The Indians had several methods of capturing fish, one of which was the use of a sort of trap looking something like a huge basket woven of twigs and placed in a position where the fish could be driven into it, similar to the white man's use of the trap net. To guide their scaly game toward these baskets, weirs or fences of brush were built in shallow waters, and in some instances, a number of men would make a "drive" of the fish toward the trap, or if conditions were right, the fish were left to naturally take the easiest way of getting themselves into trouble, following along the obstructing weir to the trap.

It may be presumed, however, that spearing was the most common method for one of the not uncommon implements found by the archaeologistis the bone fish-spear, although, owing to their perishable nature, it is rare to find one at the present time. The collection of the late Edward Golson contained a large number of bone implements collected shortly before the turn of the century.

Spearing was practiced by torch-light, and during the great migrations of suckers up the streams in the spring, it was only necessary to stand at the water's edge in a good position and take all the fish that could be used. It is possible that in this region crude hooks were sometimes used, but, if so, they were not common.

COOKING UTENSILS AND POTTERY

The culinary operations of the Indian were very simple. Meat formed the staple food, its preparation usually consisted of roasting or broiling, and this was especially true during the warm season, while in the winter some of the meat was prepared by boiling or stewing and its juices used as the stock for cooking hominy or samp. In connection with the subject of these corn products, the "hominy" procured from the local grocer is not the hominy of the eastern Indian. But in New England and eastern New York, one may to this day obtain real "Hominy". Hominy is a coarsely cracked flint corn, deprived of its hull and the kernel broken into four or five pieces. Samp is cracked finer but is still much coarser than the corn meal which is the last of the series and used for making mush. While it is possible that the eastern Indians did make hulled corn, the author does not recall any definite record, although it seems quite possible that they had learned the use of ashes to remove the hull, while the white man, already having the process of making lye, would very naturally substitute it for the Indian way of simply putting ashes and corn in the water and boiling together, then washing the kernels in clean water. It is more likely that the Indian woman simply pounded the corn in a stone or wooden mortar and boiled it hull and all with the meat or meat stock. Lacking the meat, the corn was boiled in water into the coarse mush that as a small boy the author many a time enjoyed as samp.

In order to prepare these dishes a kettle was necessary, so that the women learned the pottery art, and fabricated kettles from clay tempered with pounded disintegrated rock, preferably granite, gneiss or schist in this part of the country, while near the seaboard pounded shells were used as the tempering agent. It would have been of great interest if the methods used in producing this kitchenware had been closely observed and recorded. Indian pottery was not a good conductor of heat; the thicker it was the more fire it required.

Through necessity, the Indian was a proverbial conserver of fuel, and his kettles were just as thin as they could be made and be reasonably serviceable. In all the tribes studied, the making of pottery was a part of woman's work. One who has given the subject much thought has been struck by the individuality shown by the makers of this primitive ware. While the women followed a certain type of ornamentation which was characteristic of the linguistic family to which she belonged, she still followed her own fancy in individualizing the general type. The author's collection of rimsherds-pieces of the tops of vessels, now in the University of MichiganMuseum, numbered over four hundred, and few, if any, were of the same ornamentation. The ornamentation was usually applied to the rim and extended two or three inches down. This individuality was a marked trait of the Indian quite in contrast with the white in whom the "herd" instinct seems to have been greatly over-developed to his detriment. The rimsherd collection mentioned was collected from approximately a hundred village sites in Saginaw County. From the standpoint of those who try to reconstruct the past culture, there are no more interesting materials to be found than this pottery, made and impressed by the personalities of those who have gone before us.

In its manufacture, our Indian artisan was well aware that some clay was not suitable for under the necessary heat in burning, it would crumble if it

contained lime. It was also known that even the right kind of clay if untempered would crack in the burning. We may imagine that it took long generations for all the essential facts to become known, but the pottery found by the whites shows that the makers had well learned the lesson although the Indians of this region never arrived at the glazed stage of manufacture. Most of the pottery appears to have been built up much the same as the modern potter shapes round objects. While the potter's wheel was unknown, the principle was followed, and two or three simple implements were all that were necessary. The inside of the vessel was smoothed by hand, and it is not so rare to find a slight impression of thumb or finger, and on observing one of these striking reminders of an Unknown, the author has felt a mental sensation difficult to describe for there was an indefinite sense of fellowship with one who had returned to his Great Mother perhaps one, two or five centuries past.

The ornamentation has been mentioned, and it may be further remarked that some of the presumed decorations were purely utilitarian such as a fabric or cord wrapped around the vessel in its plastic state or a support perhaps. In the true ornamentation there does not seem to be any of that striking symbolism shown by the Pueblo tribes of the southwest, no pictorial or geometrical figures, but quoting from a published paper: "a ready and a skillful use of the means at hand and best adapted to the crude material on which it was placed."

Mr. Ralph Stroebel has made some very interesting experiments in pottery-making of the Indian type, some of his pieces so well simulating that of the ancient potters that to the eye of the layman the difference cannot be recognized.

In addition to pottery, buckets of birch bark, bowls and baskets of the same material, a few well-made wooden dishes together with the stone knives,

hammers and hatchets comprised the chief items of kitchen furniture, although rarely a spoon of horn or wood was made, while occasionally on some village site distant from any stream, the collector will note the disintegrating shell of a fresh-water mussel or two, and may wonder at seeing them since these shellfish (commonly called clams) unlike the oyster and clam of the sea were not used in the Saginaw Region for food. No doubttheir shells were sometimes made use of as scoops or spoons. The clam commonly called the mucket by the men making a business of gathering them for pearl button making was the one most used as the shell was large, thick and symmetrical. While these lowly creatures were plentiful in some of our rivers, their flesh was too tough for food, that quality being well illustrated by the story of the French Canadian who said: "I bile him two hour; I chaw him two hour, den I let run away to get more tender."

For a fork, a stout, nicely-branched twig of hickory with the bark scraped off and well sharpened served to lift the meat from the pot to the wooden or birch bark bowl, while nature's implements, the fingers, were more convenient after the dish had cooled sufficiently.

PIPES AND SMOKING

We have presumed that the North Americans were the first users of tobacco, and the number of pipes found might tend to confirm that belief, for although they used other products such as the bark of certain willows, it seems that the custom of tobacco smoking was universal so far as the tobacco plant could be grown or procured. Some have argued that its use was purely ceremonial. While it was ceremonially used, there is little to cause belief that smoking was for any other purpose than that for which it is used by white men and women, namely, for its narcotic effect, although as a habit, it is extremely doubtful if it had the grip of steel on the Indian that it has on the American white, for, at the best, in this or similar regions, it could not be indulged

in continuously for its cultivation in any quantity was beyond either probability or historic fact.

In the Saginaw Region, almost every type of prehistoric pipe common to the United States east of the Rocky Mountains and north of the former slave States has been found. The author's collection, made by himself from the fields of Saginaw County over a period of about thirty years, numbered about fifty perfect and broken pipes, representing perhaps about twenty-five types, from the Micmac of the extreme east to the well known "calumet" of red pipestone. In a former paper read before the Anthropology Section of the Michigan Academy of Science, the author says:

> "In discussing the subject of material, there is not one in the whole collection (the author's) for which the material could not have been procured within fifty miles of Saginaw, although the variety is quite remarkable--The Indian was quick to learn the relative value of the different rocks and minerals; some would crack or splinter from the heat; others were too porous, and still others too hard to work. We find, in consequence, that in general the stone pipes were fashioned from an argillaceous (clay) rock, or from sandstone of fine texture, since both of of these rocks are to be found outcropping in the bed of the Cass River in the vicinity of Cass City in Tuscola County.
>
> "On the other hand, it is safe to say that from one-half to two thirds of all the pipes or fragments of pipes that might be collected in this County would be of pottery-ware, the material for which was more easily procured than stone."

The stone pipes were provided with stems of wood or reed, and as a consequence the broken stone pipe would be the exception, while with the pottery pipe, the bowl and stem being in one piece, were more apt

to be broken, the opposite state naturally prevailed, this being particularly true when the surface where found was under cultivation, and, in addition, the effects of frost and water combined would often cause breakage. In consequence of this, the collector often passes over broken bowls and stems of pottery without recognizing their character. The smallest pipe in the author's collection was a perfect bowl of clay rock, three-fourths of an inch long by seven-sixteenths of an inch in its greatest diameter. If it were not known that Indians sometimes used very small pipes, one would be inclined to think it was a toy, and perhaps it was. It is wedge-shaped with the edge of the wedge parallel with the stem and forming the base of the pipe. It is a little "gem" and would be a choice specimen in any collection.

In some parts of the country pottery pipes were made of clay without any tempering material, but in this region it would be exceptional, and an examination of broken specimens of pottery pipes shows that usually a fine sand was used for that purpose, for the pounded rock used in ordinary pottery-making was too coarse and would interfere with the making of the stem-hole. It is thought that pipe-making was mostly the work of the men, although from the very delicate ornamentation of some of the pottery pipes, it is quite possible that these at least were the handiwork of the women, although a large portion were apparently strictly utilitarian and, at times, crude as well as clumsy. The stone pipes were often ornamented, both by sculpture and incised engraving, but, more especially, the catlinite which will be noted under exotic objects. Like the pottery, the pipes not infrequently showed the strong individuality of the maker.

CACHES OF CHERT BLADES AND ARTIFACTS

In part 2, Handbook of the American Indians, we are informed that "the term cache, from the French cacher, "to hide", has been very generally adopted by the whites who have not been slow to accept and practice this primitive method of hiding things intended to be reclained."

The storage, or "corn" pits pits heretofore noted, came under this term, but ordinarily it has been applied to collections of artifacts, usually arrow-points and leaf-shaped blades of chert, and it is these to which reference is here made. Some of these leaf-shaped blades represent arrow or spear points in the making, and in need of further finer chipping before completion. Harlan I. Smith in a useful paper, "The Saginaw Valley Collection", as a supplement to the American Museum Journal for 1901, reported several caches in Saginaw County, and in 1941, the Michigan Academy of Science published a paper by the author in which he described twelve previously unreported caches ranging from seven pieces struck off from a fine six-inch chert nodule, and buried together near the Green Point Mounds, to "a ten-quart pail full" of stemmed and notched arrowpoints, a truly unusual find. As said before, these collections or caches were largely leaf-shaped blades, evidently intended to be completed into stemmed and notched arrowpoints, although at times a cache may be discovered in which the blades seem to be of exotic material, such as the Armstrong Cache found in May, 1910, on the Frazer Village site, near Shields, and consisted of sixth-six finely chipped leaf-shaped blades, nearly all of which were five and a half inches long, none less than four and a half inches, and from one and one-half to one and three-quarters inches in width. About half were of black chert, and of the remainder all but three were of gray chert; the exceptions were impure quartz of an unusual variety--when held to the light, it was partly translucent, somewhat resembling smoky quartz. All were of remarkable uniform shape and were perhaps intended for cutting blades or knives.

Mr. Ralph Stroebel of Saginaw, in American Antiquity, 1937, described a unique cache found by him at the Frazer Village. It numbered forty-six blades and pieces of the familiar Bayport chert. Some of the smaller flakes had not been worked, but most had been roughly chipped. Their size indicated that they had been struck off from a very large nodule or nodules. The lot weighed thirty-

four and one-half pounds, the largest blade weighing two pounds and ten ounces. The pieces were laid together compactly in the sand, and, from general appearances, would seem to have been originally buried about two feet deep. There was another reason for burying unfinished chert blades than that of simple storage. Chert in its original moist state is much more easily worked than when deprived of its moisture; consequently, the burial would mean the retention of water in the mineral.

WEAPONS AND TOOLS

The bow and arrow, the tomahawk and the scalping knife have long been symbolic of Indian warfare. The bow was essentially the arm of the hunter, whether in quest of beast or bird, or, not infrequently, of fish. The bow was made of ash, hickory or sometimes of oak, while the arrows were often of arrow-wood, one of the interesting family of viburnums among which sheep-berry and high-bush cranberry are members. The shoots grew slender and straight, and it is said that they were much sought for on account of their quality. Other woods were used where it was growing like what orchardists called "suckers"--slender and straight. All of these were stripped of their bark, seasoned and worked to the desired condition for use. The arrowpoints were largely of the type known to archaeologists as "stemmed and notched", although a very few triangular forms were used. Barbed points were rare, while special forms were not uncommon, and sometimes a "freak" was chipped out, probably more as a pastime for the maker than for any intended use. The points set in the arrow-shafts were usually from one and one-half to two inches long, and it was seldom that one was over that length, although many larger stemmed and notched blades are found--the larger ones would be used as cutting blades with a rare possibility of serving as a spear-point. Many of these latter forms as well as the long leaf-shaped blades were set in handles for more convenient use. At times, we find material that has been chipped into effigy forms, such as a turtle, fish or beaver, and while possibly totemic in some instances were more likely the products of a passing fancy, for the real totemic

figures had a definite purpose, and an object chipped out in outline only, and as thin or thinner than a common arrowpoint could not have been put to any practical use.

Sometimes an arrowpoint or large blade will be found which is easily recognized by a competent authority as coming from Flint Ridge, Ohio, or, occasionally, a white chert point from Illinois or Missouri is collected locally. Obsidian from the Rocky Mountain region is sometimes collected, but the pitchstone from the Lake Superior region, especially Isle Royale, is often mistaken for the true obsidian which it resembles.

Gem materials, such as agate, chalcedony and jasper were fashioned into arrowpoints or even common scrapers, also the fine gray agate formed in the Bayport limestone is occasionally seen. It is safe to say that the Indian like ourselves appreciated this beautiful material, and we may infer that choice specimens were treasured, not for use, but to be admired.

Even a casual collector finds a surprising number of different artifacts in this region, but of all these, the ARROWPOINT is the most symbolic of the Indian; the farmer following his plow turns one up and at once recognizes it and picks it up. He may turn up a dozen common scrapers without giving them a second look; he may even kick aside a roughed-out axe without recognizing it as a very important implement, unfinished it is true, but to the archaeologist more important than a finely-worked specimen. We, therefore, naturally start with the arrowpoint to answer the questions of its material, its origin and its making.

Scattered over nearly all of Michigan, we find that perhaps ninety per cent of the arrowpoints are made of a gray chert commonly called flint which the trained eye readily recognizes as having come from the Bayport limestone that outcrops at Bayport, some of the islands of Saginaw Bay, at Point Au Gres

and a low ridge extending northwest eleven or twelve miles in Arenac County. The remaining ten per cent is made up of other stone with a considerable sprinkling of exotic material which has in part been noted. In Saginaw County northeastward from the Dixie Highway Bridge across the Cass River to its headwaters, many arrowpoints and a considerable number of much longer blades are found of a material called by a competent authority "compressed sandstone", but the term needs some modification for it is not a quartzite and has the appearance of having been partially fused. It is very seldom that one of this description is found elsewhere in the region. It would seem to be more or less of a puzzle, although it has been suggested that a similar stone was largely used by the Iroquois, and the presumption is that Hurons had lived on the Cass in near-historic times and these special blades might have been brought by them. Our stream beds yield very little rock of this sort, so their origin may remain unknown.

There are a considerable number of quartzite arrowpoints and blades and boulders of this mineral in the stream beds are often seen.

AXES, HATCHETS, ADZES AND GOUGES

All artifacts of the above classes have frequently fallen under the general term of "celts" and the average person who picks up what to the experienced collector is an adze will call it an axe or a tomahawk, although their uses are widely different. Unlike the chert which with rare exception required more or less long journeys to procure, the riverbeds of the four principal streams of the region furnished material in plenty at the places where before noted they had cut their way through boulder beds and exposed their hard treasure to the Red Man. These tools would average in weight from a pound to five or six pounds. The rocks and stones of the river bed ran from a fine gravel to boulders weighing several tons so that the only problem of the Indian was to find one of suitable form. Fine-grained granite, syenite or trap rock, all of the igneous

series, were usually selected, for, being hard and tough, they were well suited for use.

The farmer sometimes wonders why on a sand knoll he finds so many stones, but the archaeologist sees in the well-formed small boulders the raw material for an axe, and, in the crumbling rocks that look fire-smitten, recognizes a scattered ancient fire-bed. Rarely an axe of indurated slate is found, as hard as ordinary granite, but such specimens are curiosities, and to the geologist of more than passing interest for at times their great hardness means more than compression for it also indicates great heat as well.

There are several types of axes, one of which is unique for it is double-notched, and is very rare outside of Michigan where it has been found in quite large numbers. These double-notched axes seem to be localized in several counties south and west of Saginaw County, but in the Saginaw Region proper, it is considered a prize by the collector. This specialized form of axe is known to archaeologists as the Michigan Axe.

Adzes are quite common, and, as a rule, are finer grained stone than the axes. They were set in handles with the edge at right angles to the handle, while the axe edge was parallel to it. With the coming of the whites, as soon as the blacksmith had set up his forge, the Indian was soon one of his customers, and the stone axe and adze were superseded by those of steel. Years ago, the author found on a shallow rift in the Cass River a deeply rusted adze, its edge worked into a strong curve for use in hollowing a canoe, in making a sap-trough or perhaps a larger trough for watering cattle. This type of steel adze is now a curiosity, but in the early days was of quite common use. The Indian found in it a prize, for with it he could build a dozen dug-outs while he would be making only one with his stone tools aided by fire.

Very occasionally, a stone gouge is collected, but seldom is one found in which the curve of the edge is more than sufficient to give it a slightly rounded outline. It may be presumed that they were often used as hand tools, for if fitted with a handle, the heavy battering would soon break the edge. The numerous deeply hollowed gouges of the Lake Champlain region and Northern New England do not seem to have been plentiful in any other part of the United States. It has been said that they were used for tapping sugar maple trees by driving them through the bark in a slanting position, the sap running down them into a bucket, but we do not find positive verification for this. There are many uses to which they might be put, and it is certain that they were used in the Indian's economy.

The stone hammer and maul were common implements, some of the latter ranging up to twenty-five or thirty pounds in weight, and in part used for driving stakes either on land or in the water, while the hammer, a simple hand tool, was used for some of the purposes that we use them, limited, of course, by the Indian's manner of life. A very common implement, the pitted hammer-stone, a small boulder weighing a pound or two, with pits on each side to give a grip for thumb and middle finger, had several uses, one of which was to strike off flakes from chert nodules to be used in arrowpoint making and other chert artifacts. Some of the heavier ones were used to crack nuts, although the nut-crackers commonly had but one pit and that was, in part at least, formed by use.

MORTARS

Mortars of stone, small ones easily held in the palm of the hand for grinding paint, or others, large and heavy, for grinding corn, were quite numerous; although for the latter purpose large wooden mortars were used with a heavy wooden pestle, while with the stone mortar a stone pestle ranging in length from three or four inches for paint grinding, up to eighteen inches for corn grinding was used. Some extremely large mortars have been found in the State,

too heavy to be moved about, and which were said to be community owned and used.

KNIVES AND CUTTING BLADES

The word "knife" brings a mental picture to us of a considerable number of forms of knives: thus the boy will think of the pocket-knife; the hunter of the hunting knife; the meat-man of the butcher-knife, and the soldier perhaps of a double-edged dagger, but to the Indian, what was his knife? Like our own, there were different forms, the simplest of which was a flake having a keen edge as struck off from a chert nodule. Thoreau, in his book, "The Maine Woods", relates concerning the "hornstone", of which Mount Kineo on Moosehead Lake in Maine is composed:

> "This variety of hornstone I have seen in every part of New England in the form of arrowheads, ... it breaks with a conchoidal fracture, producing a ragged cutting edge... I picked up a small thin piece which had so sharp an edge that I used it as a dull knife, and to see what I could do, fairly cut off an aspen poplar one inch thick with it, by bending it and making many cuts."

The "ragged edge" spoken of was due to the character of the stone, it not being chert. Hornstone is much the same character as jasper, but somewhat more brittle than chert, and, to a certain extent, translucent like horn. Its fracture usually leaves, as Thoreau says, a ragged edge, while chert leaves a smooth edge, and, being tougher than hornstone, would be more efficient. We have in this illustration the simplest form of a Knife and many speciments collected plainly show the marks of use.

It is probable that most of the leaf-shaped blades found in this region were intended for and used as knives, some being set in convenient handles, others simply held in the hand. Among prehistoric copper artifacts there are but few knives, for copper, even though "tempered" by the hammering process with

which the Indian workmen were familiar, was two degrees below chert in the scale of hardness, and, therefore, in some respects inferior to it.

Most of the so-called "spears" of this region were knives, some the analogue of the soldier's dagger or of the hunter's knife. They were easily sharpened by the chipping process, and, with care, would last for years, although the liability of breakage might cause us to think that few would be found whole, but, strange as it may appear, more perfect than broken ones are found in this part of the country.

DRILLS AND PERFORATORS

The average collector finding a slender, sharp-pointed implement of cert from two to four inches long at once calls it a drill. He may be right, but more likely the tool was used for a very different purpose and on equally different material. The cross section of a drill is lozenge or diamond shape, thus: ◇ A perforator gives a cross section of a narrow double-pointed oval, thus: ⬯ In general, we may say that the drill is used to bore hard substances, such as bone, horn, slate or even at times a much harder stone; while a perforator would be used to cut or punch small slits or holes in leather or for some similar use, even occasionally for the purpose of a small knife or lancet. There were two methods of drilling, one with the stone drill, the other using a small hollow reed with sharp sand and water as an abrasive, both being revolved by simple methods that had proved efficient. In collections from this region many drills and perforators will be seen, some plainly showing use, others as fresh as when first made. It is probable that careful rechipping was done at times, but the small size and fragile character of the implement would not permit much resharpening. Occasionally some object of very hard stone such as porphyry or granite is found with a neatly drilled hole or holes through it, and we can only marvel at the skill and patience of the Indian workman.

SCRAPERS

A very humble tool was the scraper, but, like some humble people, they were very useful. There are several types for several uses. The most plentiful was the "thumb" or "thumbnail", so called on account of the form which is that of a human thumb-nail. They were used for scraping and softening skins in the process of tanning. Few of this type were as large as a silver half-dollar, and most were much smaller or about the size of a quarter. They have thick blunt edges, being chipped only on the upper side, and most of those found have a sharp edge, for its blunt sharpness was what gave its efficiency in scraping the green hide. Used as a hand-tool, it was mounted in a handle and operated by a pushing motion. Occasionally, one is found that is stemmed and notched, and sometimes one of this type is unmistakably recognized as an arrowpoint with the pointed half broken off, and the stemmed and notched piece chipped to the usual thick edge for a scraper. The author has found scrapers of this type with a high polish on the scraper showing much use. It is probable that after loosening the fibers of the tanned skin with the sharp-edged scraper, the smoother one would be equally efficient in softening it. Among the Plains Indians, a handled scraper of the same pattern was used in the second process of preparing buffalo and other large hides, but, as a rule, the stone was larger and was set differently in the handle and was used by a drawing motion.

Another kind of scraper was used for scraping wood or other material, and for this purpose a fairly thin flake of chert would be used exactly as a piece of glass was formerly used by an old time cobbler in scraping the edges of sole of a boot after it was pegged in place and trimmed with the shoemaker's knife, or as the carpenter used the same material in lieu of a steel implement. For scraping arrow-shafts, a half-round of the proper size would be chipped in a chert flake, and the bark scraped from the twig selected, or its size reduced by the same process. It will be seen that like some other seemingly

insignificant things the Scraper was an indispensable tool.

SPEARS

While spears with stone points were used to some extent in other parts of the United States, it does not seem that they were of common use, if used at all, in this region, or, in fact, to any great extent east of the Mississippi. Contrary to the general idea, those that were used were strongly set with quite short stout points for a long blade would snap at the first thrust. On the other hand, bone fish-spears were much used. The leg bone of some animal of suitable size was split, and a segment, perhaps a quarter circle of the diameter, would be worked to the desired form having from two to four or five barbs, two or three holes drilled in it, and fastened to a long wooden shaft by sinews passing through the holes in the point and corresponding holes in the shaft, then wrapped and secured. Through drying, the sinews contracted and the attachment was very firm.

COPPER ARTIFACTS

That prehistoric Indians were miners of copper is well-known. The vast workings on Isle Royale, still to be seen, along with those of the Upper Peninsula now lost through the operations of the white miners, are evidence that for centuries the Indian patiently pounded out of the rock and gathered along the shore of Isle Royale quantities of the native copper that for a century gave Michigan a unique reputation in the mining world, for the product was native metallic copper, and not an ore of it such as most of the great copper deposits of our country and the world are. There has been much speculation as to who the ancient miners were and fantastic theories have been advanced, but undisputable evidence indicates that they were none others than the ancestors of present day Indians, and that from time to time parties of them from this or other states and Canada made their way to the deposits and did the mining. Careful surveys of Isle Royale have brought to light no signs of any culture whatever other than

that of the natives who frequented this and other outside states.

Copper axes, spear-points, arrow-points, knives and awls with occasionally a fish-hook or some ornament have been collected from many sites in this region.

GORGETS, TABLETS AND PENDANTS

These articles were used for personal adornment, the gorget being a familiar object to the collector. It was usually made of slate, green, purple or black, rarely of red or brown, banded or plain with a hole drilled in each end for suspension around the neck by a cord or leather thong. Small ones, called pendants, were occasionally hung from a single hole drilled in one end. Tablets were of the same material as gorgets and were of more or less problematical use. They were of various forms, a common one being that of a tatting shuttle. Instead of having holes at the ends, they were usually povided with two drilled about a fourth of the length from each end, and, from all the information we have, were worn attached to the clothing instead of suspended from the neck. Here again, the prejudice of our fathers against "heathenish customs" and "charms" has left us with little definite record. The wearing of gorgets was perpetuated by the traders who furnished them of silver, very light in weight but very high in price. It is easy to see that the Indian would be willing to trade almost any number of choice pelts to become possessor of gorgets of silver which superseded the far finer stone gorgets. A collection of these silver ornaments has been preserved by one of Saginaw's old families. They were recently studied by the University of Michigan and found to contain marks that indicate they were manufactured in Montreal. For an illustration of the silver gorgets, see the picture of our Shopenegans in full regalia.

SYMBOLIC FIGURES - "BIRD STONES"

There is a class of symbolic objects commonly known as "Bird stones", owing to the fact that some of them represented figures of birds. Bird stones were wrought in the same material as gorgets, but occasionally other and harder stone was used, such as the beautiful porphyry or red catlinite. These bird and animal figures have caused many guesses and surmises as to their use, and in this particular archaeologists realize what has been lost through the belief of early missionaries and others that the artifacts were either objects of worship, charms or fetishes, and, no doubt, encouraged the Indians to dispose of them. As a matter of fact, the objects were clan symbols and were venerated as such to the same extent that Freemasons "venerate" the Square and Compasses or the Oddfellows "worship" the Three Links. The Indians had their own ceremonies and observance as we do, and it is true that as a people they were far more reverent of the Unseen Powers than we are in spite of our boasted civilization. The reason is not hard to find: they were in constant contact with Nature in all her purity, and mentally and spiritually were as nearly unspoiled as it was possible for a people living under a rather harsh environment to be.

In the Saginaw region, the Chippewas predominated and among their clans we find totemic objects representing the goose, beaver, bear, turtle, muskrat and others. The author has had perhaps a dozen of these totemic figures, among them a fine little figure of a beaver in catlinite, and in nicely worked and polished slate, representations of the bear, goose and otter. At certain clan gatherings, the clan totel, one of the figures mentioned would be exhibited, but in this brief account, the manner must be omitted.

An American Indian clan is a group within a tribe either actually or theoretically belonging to the same family. This might be partly illustrated by presuming that the Smiths and certain of their in-laws in Saginaw represented the Beaver Clan. Their totem and symbol would be the beaver, The subject is a complicated one and if any reader desires further information, it may be found in the Handbook of American Indians issued by the Bureau of Ethnology, and available in all good public libraries.

BANNER STONES

The last class of artifacts to be described has been called "banner-stones" for the want of a better name. Some are shaped like a butterfly hence called by some "butterfly stones", others are like miniature pick-axes, and there are a number of other different forms. The material is the same as that used for gorgets. Practically all are pierced by a quite large hole drilled in the center parallel with the flat sides of the objects from which comes the idea of their having been carried aloft on a stick inserted in the hole. This may be true, but it is still just a conjecture, and it is one of the objects which has created the term "problematical forms" to distinguish them from others, the use of which is known.

EXOTIC OBJECTS, CURIOSITIES AND MISCELLANEOUS

Not infrequently, a collector will pick up a sea shell from some Indian Village site, and when he applies to some competent authority on mollusks will learn that it is from Florida. He will find a handsome catlinite pipe and knows that the material came from the Pipestone Quarry in Minnesota. Other articles coming from distant places have been noted in other sections of this paper as having been brought by the hand of man from the places of their origin, and in addition to these, we find that transport in the Ice Age by the great ice sheet that covered Michigan accounts for much in the way of materials for use or ornament that came to the Indians of Lower Michigan. The jasper conglomerate

with its colorful pebbles of jasper, red, brown and yellow and sometimes black came from a great ledge a hundred miles or more north of the Soo. The beautiful fossil coral of many species that is plentiful in our streams in the boulder beds or collected from Indian village sites came from the north at least as far as Mackinaw, and archaeologists have often wondered why this beautiful stone was not more used by the natives for totemic figures or other stone objects. It is soft and easy to work, it being only four on the Mohs scale of hardness, but rather too soft to wear well and retain a polish, so that slate of various colors and degrees was generally used, most of it being a point or two harder than the coral. Some have thought that the lack of use of this coral might be due to superstition, but there is nothing to bear out such a conjecture, for our Indians possessed fine specimens and rarely a small ornament such as a drilled pendant will be found. The finest piece of fossil coral in the author's possession, or in fact that he has seen, was collected from a local prehistoric village site. It is about as large as an old-style silver watch and is clearly translucent, and, although in the natural state, the individual cells are sharply defined.

While there are certain forms of coral in the Bayport formation, we have never seen from that source the several varieties known as Petoskey stone, or sometimes Petoskey agate, the latter name being incorrect for the composition is lime while that of agate is essentially silica, three degrees harder than the fossil coral.

Iron, lead and zinc ores, native copper, pyrite and marcasite are among the exotic minerals collected from village sites, and even a silicious stalactite, a very rare specimen was taken from a Saginaw County grave. When one finds spcimens of these unusual materials on Indian village sites, it stimulates the imagination and leads one to speculate on the manner of life of these "first people of Michigan".

S A G I N A W H I S T O R Y

P a r t II

FROM THE FIRST PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

TO THE END OF NINETEENTH CENTURY

By

FRED DUSTIN

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Chapter I
THE TRADER AND THE INDIAN

The "Saginaw Country" under peculiar spelling was vaguely mentioned in "The Jesuit Relations," but there is no record of any visit by the Jesuits or other contemporary missionaries. In the days of their labors the route of travel to the upper Great Lakes was up the Ottowa River and its tributaries and through Lake Nipissing to the northern end of Georgian Bay. A glance at a map of the region shows the "Saginaw Country" some two hundred miles southwest of where the canoe of the voyager entered Georgian Bay. So far as known, the first white visitor to what is now Saginaw County was a Frenchman named Francois Trombley in 1792, but his stay was transient, and he left no reminder of his presence or personality.

Not so with Louis Campau, and so far as recorded he was the first actual sojourner for he could not yet be called a settler-for some years following his first visit. He was the nephew of a wealthy Detroit merchant who dealt largely in furs. Louis was a young man in his middle twenties, energetic and resourceful, and his uncle sent him here as a fur trader in the autumn of 1815. He came in a small sailing vessel with his stock in trade and supplies, and was probably accompanied by one or two whites. Not far north-of the present intersection of Hamilton and Clinton Streets he created his log trading house in a slight clearing on the highest ground at that point. About twenty rods north, a deep bayou entered the river. This bayou or creek-for it was then a living stream - had a westerly course crossing Hamilton Street at Miller, and Michigan Avenue at Throop. As late as 1855 this bayou was a favorite fishing place, and at the crossing of Michigan Avenue, one could thrust a twenty-foot pike pole its full length in water and mud, and the largest vessels that sailed the lakes in those days, could in moderately high water go up as far as the corners of Throop and Fayette Streets. At least one house erected on the northerly edge of this bayou within the author's recollection, gave way in its foundations. From Campau's cabin the ground sloped quite steeply to

bayou and river, a strategic position in several respects.

It appears that Campau was a successful trader, for with that French facility in meeting pople, a ready adaptation to environment, and with an easy grace he quickly made friends among the Indians, many of whom were still in an ugly mood due to the war just closed, and we find in General Hull's report that sixty "Sagganau Indians" arrived at Detroit three days after the surrender of that place to the British. They had "arrived" intent on scalps and plunder, and this little matter gives us a sidelight on the much maligned old General, who really took the only course left open unless he was prepared for a general massacre such as occurred at the River Raisin not so long before. The testimony of some of his officers at his court martial, reflected no credit on them, for it was later shown that in certain critical instances they were very much in error to say the least.

Campau's trading venture had proved so successful that he continued to spend his winters at his Saginaw post, and by 1819 was firmly established, although in the meantime one or two other traders had located at what the French called "the grand traverse" (crossing) of the Flint River at or very near the present Street Bridge in Flint. They were rivals, and not friendly ones, for trade with the Indians.

It has been said with undoubted truth, that a common practice among white traders was to give a gun for a pile of beaver pelts as high as the gun was long. It is quite possible that some of our readers may have seen and wondered at the marvelously long old flint-lock guns dating back to the early nineteenth century. The solution of the mystery is this: certain unscrupulous traders had these cheap guns made with extremely long barrels, some as much as six feet, and one can visualize the pile of beaver-skins necessary to buy one. This was only one of the many swindles perpetrated on the Indians in all parts of the country. The argument used to convince the Redskin was that the longer the gun, the more

game it would kill, but some of them,through experience, refused to be cheated. As a matter of fact, with an apparent majority of the whites, the Indian, like the enslaved negro," had no rights which the white man was bound to respect" either from a religious or humanitarian standpoint: he was a "savage", or still more conveniently, a "pagan," whose extermination was a virtue, and to swindle him, if not laudable, was at least permissible.

Louis Campau in later life was well and very favorably known, and so far as the record goes, there is nothing to seriously tarnish his name and memory in his dealings with the natives.

The peace following the War of 1812 left the Indians in the Northwest Territory in a rather unsatisfactory situation concerning their lands, for up to 1819 they had ceded practically two-thirds of the lower Peninsula to the Federal Government, retaining little more than a queerly shaped tract of which the present Saginaw was the geographical center as well as a center of Indian population. Various estimates of the number inhabiting it have been made, but it probably did not exceed 3,000, with a possibility of a thousand more. Nearly all were Chippewas with a few Ottowas and some Potowatomies in the southwestern part of the territory.

The whites were land-hungry, and while the region was as yet unexplored the close of the war left the United States Government in undisputed possession of Lower Michigan, and continual pressure was brought on the authorities at Washington to take over all Indian title, and in substance, expel the Indians to points west of the Mississippi.

To understand the situation we must go back a few years to the date of the "Treaty with the Ottowas, etc., 1807," made at Detroit on November 7 of that year in which the first mention of SAGINAW in an Indian treaty appears in Article IV as follows. "The United States...further stipulates to furnish the said Indians with two blacksmiths, one to reside with the Chippewas at Saguina" etc. By this treaty, the Ottowas, Potowatomies, Wyandots and Chippewas ceded

to the United States all that territory in southeast Michigan beginning from a point at "White Rock" on Lake Huron, thence southwesterly to the Meridian Line; thence south on the Meridian Line to the present State Line; thence easterly to the mouth of the Maumee River. This was the first large land cession of Michigan territory, the forerunner of which had been the Treaty of Greenville, Indiana, in 1795, and was the entering wedge that was to rapidly drive the Indian into miserable reservations, and eventually reduce him to practical mendicancy in what was rightfully his natural heritage.

Soon after the War of 1812, it became known that the Saginaw country was a center of Indian population, well watered and easy of access on account of its converging streams, and a hunter's and fisherman's paradise, so an agitation arose for a new treaty to take in this most desirable country, and in 1819 the Government having decided upon what it would lay claim to, formulated a new treaty which was to give to the whites a vast territory covering the most desirable portion of the unceded land in Michigan, and Lewis Cass, Governor, was commissioned to enter into the necessary negotiations.

At that time General Cass was about thirty-six years of age, and in the vigor of his young manhood. He was characterized by patriotism, honesty and considerable foresight, and in his dealings with the Indians was as just as circumstances permitted, for he represented the whites, his method of thought was white and his viewpoint was white, he had orders to bring about certain things, and did the best he could under the circumstances. He was of old New England stock, his father having served throughout the Revolution with a final rank of captain, and later was commissioned a major in the Indian wars in the West. The General himself, had been in touch with great events; he had already helped to make history, and was in the confidence of the Government. In his capacity as Governor, he was also superintendent of Indian affairs with headquarters at Detroit, and it was in this capacity that he set in motion preparations for the treaty which was to be made at Saginaw, and commissioned Louis Campau to make the necessary arrangements at that point. Runners were sent out

from Detroit and probably from Saginaw, to notify the different bands to be present at a specified time about the middle of September, 1819.

At that time, Campau was twenty-seven years old, and was perhaps the most interesting white man at the treaty except Cass. As his Indian trade was wholly in furs, he spent the warm season at Detroit, coming to Saginaw in the fall. He had a younger brother, Henry Campau - in French spelling-Henri, commonly pronounced "Aree," which has given rise to the error in Mills's "History of Saginaw County" wherein it is spelled "Ariel," perhaps a French name, but not that of Henry Campau, of whom more will be said later.

Louis with several assistants, among them Henry Campau, repaired to Saginaw and made ready for the treaty by adding to his log buildings certain extensions, and also erected a large bower or temporary shelter by laying poles from tree to tree in the crotches or held by withes and covered with leafy boughs. It was located six or eight rods south of his quarters which he said in his testimony in court in 1860, was composed of four log buildings placed end to end, and that they were used by Cass and his staff as offices and quarters. On the north side of Madison Street about forty feet from the curb line of Hamilton, and directly in front of what were formerly the offices of S. Fair and Son, stands a bitter-nut hickory tree about two feet in diameter. The late Norman L. Miller informed the author that in 1840 this tree was a sapling three or four inches in diameter, and at this point a quite deep ravine opened out into the river, running back toward Michigan Avenue, and down in the ravine below the bitternut tree there was a spring from which the early settlers in the vicinity obtained their water, and it is quite possible that Campau and General Cass along with others also drank at this spring. It is hoped that this tree will be preserved as a landmark. In 1916, the Daughters of the Revolution erected a fine granite marker with a bronze tablet to indicate the site of the treaty at the northeast corner of Throop

and Hamilton Streets. While it is approximately correct as to its situation, the exact site was a block south. In 1822, Louis Campau erected a new house just east of the D.A.R. marker. This building was known in the parlance of the day as a "block-house," a word not having in this connection a military significance, but denoting a building constructed of logs hewn four-square instead of rough round logs. It was massive also, in its floors and roof which were also of squared timber. It stood on the square formed by Miller, Throop, Niagara and Hamilton Streets, a notable landmark until 1862 when it was destroyed by fire. On the ridge where it was located numerous Indian remains and relics have been collected, and in opening Hamilton Street, long years ago, skeletons and many artifacts were exhumed, and not long before the centennial year of the treaty, bones and implements were found while grading was going on near the old Schemm Brewery.

General Cass was coming to Saginaw over the Indian trail from Detroit. There were two trails from that place, one by way of the present Owosso, the other, most direct, by way of the present Flint, aproximately following the Flint River northwestward to a point near the present Taymouth Township Town Hall, where it dividied, one branch crossing the river to its left bank, and continuing down stream to a ford in Section Thirty-Six in Albee Township near the present East Street Bridge, there crossing and following the low sand ridges to the Cass River which was crossed not far west of the East Street Bridge, joining the trail from Bridgeport near or at the canoe crossing of the Saginaw River just below Green Point. The other branch followed the right bank of the Flint to near the Taymouth Township Cemetery thence northerly along the ridges to a point on the Cass a half-mile above the railroad bridge at Bridgeport, there crossing the Cass and across the low ground, and on easterly to the present Dixie Highway about half a mile east of the railroad thence continuing west along the present Washington Road to the place heretofore noted below the confluence of the Tittabawassee and Shiawassee Rivers, with a branch in part opened by Campau

along Fordney Avenue to the site of the Mackinaw Street Bridge.

In the relation of Campau's preparations for the treaty, we find that he "built a bridge across the bayou." To many the location of this bridge has been uncertain, but it is within the memory of many middle-aged people in Saginaw, that east of the Mackinaw Street Bridge a short distance, there was a bridge spanning a narrow bayou now filled up. It was across this bayou that Campau built a rude structure for the accommodation of General Cass and his staff.

While these preparations were going on, a company of infantry under Capt. Charles L. Cass, a brother of the General, was sent by water as a military guard. In the meantime, General Cass was making ready for his journey, but at the outset he found himself under embarassing circumstances. By the treaty, of 1807, the United States had obligated itself to pay to the Chippewas annually- "one thousand six hundred sixty-six dollars, sixty-six cents and six mills." It seems that the Government had not, as has very frequently been the case, kept faith with the Chippewas, and we find the General writing to Calhoun, the Secretary of War, under date of September, 1819 as follows: "I shall leave here on Monday next to meet the Indians at Sagana, and endeavor, agreeable to your instructions, to procure a cession of that valuable territory."

"It would be hopeless to expect a favorable result to the proposed treaty, unless the annuities previously due are discharged. Under these circumstances I have felt myself embarassed and no course has been left me but to procure the amount of the Chippewa annuity upon my private responsibility. By the liberal conduct of the Directors of the bank at this place, I have succeeded in procuring that annuity in silver, and shall thus be able to comply with past engagements before I call on the Indians to perform others. I trust the receipt of a draft will soon relieve me from the situation in which I am placed, and enable me to perform my promise to the bank." Cass had sent supplies

and goods on the vessels carrying the soldiers, and probably had also sent the silver. Campau also had supplies sent by the same vessels, which sailed through rivers, lakes and bays to Saginaw River which was probably ascended as far up as Campau's trading house, although some years later, at times, freight and passengers were debarked below the Carrollton Bar. If not too heavily laden, the larger vessels, as well as small sloops and schooners were usually able to ascend to Campau's without much difficulty.

The best and most complete account of the treaty that we have been able to find is that written by Charles P. Avery in Thomas and Galatian's "Indian and Pioneer History of the Saginaw Valley...Also Pioneer Directory and Business Advertiser, for 1866 and 1867." Mr. Avery was evidently in close touch with Louis Campau, and his account is both circumstantial and to the point: it has been largely drawn upon in the preparation of this chapter, but except in special incidents, quotation marks will not be used, for the wording is frequently changed and the subject-matter condensed.

General Cass arrived on the 10th of September, and found all in order for the conference. Avery says: "The Council House was spacious and commodius,... and of the requisite width to accommodate the large number of natives expected to be present...A platform of logs, faced or evened with the axe, elevated about a foot above the ground, and broad enough to accommodate upon rustic benches, Commissioner Cass and other officials, occupied the central portion of the Council Room. Huge logs in their native roughness had been rolled in upon the other space to be used as seats for the native lords of the soil when in solemn council."

The number of Indians present at the time of Cass's arrival was not as large as expected, so more runners were sent out to notify the different bands when it was seen that some localities were not properly represented. The number present on the treaty ground the third and last day as well as the largest council was variously estimated at from fifteen hundred to four thousand. They were mainly Chippwas, but not all, for some Ottowas and possibly a few Potowatomies were present,

for a few chiefs of the Ottowas affixed their signatures to the treaty, although in the State Papers only the Chippewas were mentioned.

At the first council, General Cass, through two competent and reliable interpreters, Henry Conner and Whitmore Knaggs, gave the usual talk about the paternal care of the Great Father at Washington; reminded them of the growing wave of civilization toward their hunting grounds; that game was getting scarce, and that they should turn their efforts toward agriculture, give up hunting and be confined to reservations. It was "the same old story in the same old way-" the transforming over night as it were, of a people who for thousands of years had existed in the stage of the hunter to that of a farmer, as great an impossibility as the reversal of Niagara Falls. Three chiefs of high repute acted as speakers for the Indians, their names spelled as follows: Mishe-ne-na-non-e-quet, O-ge-maw-ke-ke-to-, and at the first council, Kisk-kaw-ko, although at the last council he affixed his totem to the treaty. Campaûs "supplies" included several barrens of rum, and this was also true of those sent by Cass. As a consequence, Kishkawko became mischievously intoxicated, and remained so much incapacitated that he took no further part in the debates. From all accounts it would seem that he never became a "good" Indian until he became a dead one, but let us remember that goodness in either red, white or black has never been promoted by rum or any of its "brothers" or "cousins".

Of the chief speaker, Ogemaw, Avery says that he opposed the proposition made by General Cass with indignation, and further states that his speech was at that time, 1866, well remembered by persons then surviving, and was a model of Indian eloquence. He was about twenty-five years old, above the average height, and of graceful and handsome bearing in his person, and as long as he lived never lost a look of conscious dignity which belonged to his nature. His band lived "at the Forks of the Tittabawassee (Midland) and like the

famous Seneca Chief, Red Jacket, he wore upon his breast a superb Government medal."

The opening council was unpropritious, and things looked critical. Beside the company of soldiers there were present perhaps fifty or sixty whites, and these retired to their quarters at the close of the day anxious and disappointed, while the chiefs and headmen of the Indians left in sullen dignity, "unapproachable and unappeased."

It was a critical time. The proposal of land cession came from us, not the Indian. They were the true owners of the soil, and from here only a few years ago, their war-parties had set out for Mackinaw and Detroit, and bitter memories rankled in their hearts. Avery says in fine language: "Here too had been for generations their simple altar in the unpuned forests, their festivals so called by us without reference to their true significance, their dances, when thanks went up to the Great Spirit for the yearly return of the successive blessings of a fruitful season, following to its source, with direct purpose and thankful hearts, the warm ray which gave them the trickling sap, which reddened the berry, which embrowned the tassel of the corn and perfected their slender harvest."

There was much of the dramatic as well as some of the tragic in this council. It was fraught with forebodings of the future, andgrave doubts to these children of the forest and well it might be.

The situation was alarming, for the Indians felt that they were not only to be disposessed of their lands, but exiled to an unknown country, which in substance, were exactly the terms that Cass had been instructed to demand, which justly, the Indians utterly refused to consider. Threats had even been made. The small company of infantry with the white civilians would have been no match for their opponents in case of a serious rupture and the General became convinced that he could not carry out his orders from Washington, and in order to obtain any treaty at all, made large concessions, the substance of which was that the Indians should remain on their own hunting grounds with full rights and privileges as to

game, fish, transit to and from their settlements, including the right "to hunt and fish forever." In addition they were granted reservations for their own use at places designated by them. This was their understanding, but in the written treaty which their chiefs and leading men signed by their "marks," things were quite different, for we find the written word and the spoken one at variance. It was not dishonesty on the part of Cass, but of different interpretations. On the written page-which the Indian could not read-it was a definite statement, but in the councils only generalized statements which legal-minded lawyers could decide either way that interest pointed.

Among those present at the treaty, there were several interested traders one of whom, Jacob Smith, whose trading post was at the Flint, and in a sense was a key to the northward region. A rival of Campau, he was a marked favorite with a large band of Indians whose principal villages were on the Flint River between the present cities of Flint and Saginaw. The chief of this band was Ne-ome, honest, mild and "simple-minded, evincing but little of the craft and cunning of his race, sincere in his nature, firm in his friendships, easy to be persuaded by any benefactor who should appeal to his Indian sense of gratitude; harmless and kind." If we are to judge, we would say from all that has been written concerning him that he stood high in the affections of his people as well as respected by the whites. Smith for a long time had been an Indian trader at different points on the Saginaw as well as on the Flint, and if Avery is correct, he ante-dated Campau at Saginaw, for he says: "He had been for a long time a trader ... both before and after the war of 1812," but if so, we have been unable to find anything definite, oral or written, to confirm the statement, although it is not entirely improbably. At the period we are considering, Smith was permanently located at "The Grand Traverse of the Flint," where he had an Indian wife and a number of half-breed children.

It seems that he stood high in the esteem of Ne-ome, and probably with good reason, but was also looking out for his people, for Avery says that he "stood like a lion in the path" until it had been promised that ample reservations should be granted to the several bands, and that there should be reserved "as requested by Wah-be-sins, (Smith) eleven sections of land of six hundred and forty acres each, to be located at or near the Grand Traverse of the Flint." Years after, these reserves at the Grand Traverse were the subject of much litigation, and as it came out, the reservees got little or nothing for lands that are now worth millions of dollars.

The second council was called several days after the first, and was fully attended by chiefs and warriors, some difficult points settled, and the discussion was calm and open as to what the terms of the treaty should be. Cass had completely abandoned the demand of the Washington Government that the Indians remove west of the Mississippi, or at least, west of Lake Michigan together with the complete cession of all the land to be covered by the treaty. This country had so long been occupied by their people, and was so well adapted to their hunter state, in the remarkable abundance of fish in its rivers and lakes and game in its forests, that they were not inclined to listen to any proposition for removal.

The treaty was engrossed, and in the afternoon of September 24, was duly signed by General Cass and one hundred and fourteen chiefs and headmen, and witnessed by twenty-three secretaries, army officers, traders and attaches of Cass's staff. A reading of the Indian names shows curious attempts at phonetic spelling by the secretaries as they sounded to their untrained ears, for instance, Okemos was "Okemares of Okemes;" Ne-ome was "Reaume." In the treaty we read concerning the reservation on the Flint; "One tract...to include Reaums village" Reaume was a Frenchman of rather indifferent character; he had no "village;" it was Ne-ome's, but we look in vain for his name among the signers of the treaty,

but "Rheam's" appears.

Among the names of the witnesses we find those of JAMES V.S. RILEY and CONRAD TEN EYCK, and in the treaty, Article 3 we read: "For the use of John Riley the son of Menawcumegoqua, a Chippewa woman, six hundred and forty acres of land, beginning at the head of the first marsh above the mouth of the Saginaw river, on the east side thereof." in the next paragraph: "For the use of Peter Riley," another son of the long-named Chippewa woman, "Beginning above and adjoining the apple-trees on the west side of the Saginaw river, and running upthe same for quantity," and for James Riley, a third son of the same woman, another six hundred and forty acres," "beginning on the east side of the Saginaw river, nearly opposite to Campau's trading house, and running up the river for quantity."

During the last few years, the official historian of Schenectady, New York, has been preparing a biography of Gen. James V.S. Ryley, one time postmaster of that city, and a prominent citizen. In the treaty, his Dutch name - Ryley - was Englished into "Riley," and we have seen it spelled Reiley. His biography is of considerable interest, and these three half-breed sons of his, each with hissquare mile of reservation, indicate that General Ryley (or Riley) had considerable influence in providing patrimonies for them. Their Apstolic names might indicate a rather deep religious feeling on the part of their paternal ancestor, as well as a commendable spirit of thrift, for John's reservation took in what is now Essexville and considerable part of Bay City: Peter's estate covered the most populous part of Carrollton Township, while that of James took in the land now comprising Rust and Hoyt Parks, "The Grove," and territory as far east as Sheridan Avenue. It does not appear, however, that either Peter, James or John greatly profited from their rather extensive grants.

As to Conrad Ten Eyck, the Indians insisted on a supplementary article to the treaty which was conditionally accepted by Cass, subject to the approval of the President and Senate, making further grants to several persons, and also "that the sum of $1,298.20 be paid to Conrad Ten Eyck as a compensation for property taken by them at Saginaw in the year 1812." This event has found no place in the history of Saginaw, but that it occurred is not improbably, for in thosedays Saginaw was easily reached by water, so if in 1812 Ten Eyck was only robbed of his goods, he may have been fortunate to have escaped with his life. These supplementary articles were ignored by the President and Senate, and perhaps the several proposed beneficiaries may have considered themselves "robbed " by the Government.

There was another trader at the treaty, Louis Campau, who was dissatisfied for it seems that he had expected to collect a considerable sum of money from certain chiefs and headmen for goods he had previously furnished them. The silver which was due the Indians was laid out on the table before General Cass for distribution, and he informed the Indians that all the money was theirs, but if it was their will that Mr. Campau should be paid, to so signify, and it would be done. Three other traders were there with goods for sale, Smith among them, and naturally they wanted a share of the silver. According to the record Smith urged Kish-kaw-ko and others to object, which they did, saying, "We want our money in our hands." General Cass ordered the money to be paid to them. It was Campau's turn to object which he did in a rather emphatic manner, for he said in telling the story to Avery: "I jumped from the platform and struck Smith two heavy blows in the face; he was smart as steel, and I was not slow; but Louis Beaufait, Conner and Barney Campau got between us and stopped the fight. So I lost my money and they cheated me out of a good fight besides. But I had my satisfaction that night. Five barrels of whiskey were opened by the United States Quarter Master for the Indians - I ordered ten of mine to be

opened, and two men to stand with dippers at the opened barrels. The Indians drank to fearful excess. At ten o'clock the General sent Robert Forsyth to me, to say; 'The Indians are getting dangerous; General Cass says, stop the liquor.' I sent back word to him, 'General, you commenced it.' A guard was detailed to surround my door. Soon after some Indians from the Bay were coming to my store, and the guard tried to keep them out with the bayonet. In the scuffle one of the Indians was stabbed in the thigh. The war-whoop was given, and in fifteen minutes the building containing my store and the General's headquarters was surrounded by excited Indians with tomahawks in their hands. They came from all points. Cass came to the door of his lodgings,...exclaiming 'Louis! Louis! send those Indians to their wigwams. Stop the liquor; we shall all be killed.' I said to him, 'General, you commenced it; you let Smith plunder and rob me,but I will stand between you and all harm.' He called out to me again, and I said, 'Yes, General, but you commenced it.' I lost my money, I lost my fight; I lost my liquor; but I got good satisfaction."

Thus ended the Treaty of Saginaw. A hundred years later, the people of the region attempted its celebration. A pageant was prepared with a fine setting of river and park. A history of the treaty was compiled by the author of this work, and eventually copies were sent to every school room, public and parochial, in the city, as well as to the public libraries, and to it and to Mr. Avery's account, persons desiring more details are referred. The celebration of 1919 was prevented by heavy showers, although the address of the day was delivered-under an umbrella.

In the pamphlet mentioned there will be found on page 19, a map of the Lower Peninsula showing the land cession of the treaty. It was prepared by the author, and graphically shows the lines of the odd-shaped portion of the State it covered. It has been copied several times by other parties, but neither the original nor the copies show one quite interesting feature for the treaty reads: "...thence in a direct line to the head of Thunder Bay River;

thence, down the same, following the course thereof, to the mouth; thence, northeast, to the boundary line between the United States and the British Province of Upper Canada; thence with the same to the line established by the treaty of Detroit, (in 1807). The line established by the treaty of Detroit was a due east and west line from White Rock on Lake Huron to the boundary line between Canada and Michigan in the lake. It will therefore be noted that the Chippewas ceded much water as well as land, prhaps a rather superfluous cession under the circumstances. In part 2 of the Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, the text of this treaty will be found, with maps showing all details including the reservations made by the Indians. It will be noted that four of the chief ones were in Saginaw County while all but three of the largest were on the Saginaw River or its tributaries. At a later period, all these reserves were wiped out by treaties, and the Indians who were the owners or occupants received lands in severalty in Isabella County, that is, each qualified Indian received a certain number of acres. The total value of the lands thus doled out, might possibly have been worth a twentieth of the value of those ceded. Whiskey and legalized robbery combined to separate the Indian from his rightful possessions.

CHAPTER II
THE SOLDIER

In the preceding pages, the TRADER has been prominently before us, and in his wake comes the Soldier.

In Article VII., of the Treaty of Greenville, made between the United States represented by General Anthony Wayne, and twelve tribes of Indians including the Chippewas, made August 3, 1795, we read: "The said tribes of Indians, parties to this treaty, shall be at liberty to hunt within the territory and lands which they have now ceded to the United States, without hindrance or molestation, so long as they demean themselves peaceably and offer no injury to the people of the United States." Plain language and easily understood, and in the treaty of Detroit made by General William Hull with the Chippewas and three

other Indian tribes, November 17, 1807, it was also agreed in Article V. "that the said Indian nations shall enjoy the privilege of hunting and fishing on the lands ceded as aforesaid, as long as they shall remain the property of the United States."

In the Cass Treaty of 1819, in Article 5 we find that "The stipulation contained in the treaty of Greenville, relative to the rights of the Indians to hunt upon the land ceded, while it continues the property of the United States, shall apply to this treaty; and the Indians shall for the same term, enjoy the privilege of making maple sugar upon the same land, committing no unnecessary waste upon the trees." In this same treaty of 1819, the United States in Article 4, "agree to pay to the Chippewa nation of Indians, annually forever, the sum of one thousand dollars in silver; and do also agree that any annuities due by any former treaty to the said tribe, shall hereafter be paid in silver."

The language of the above quotations is not hard to understand, but let us consider its interpretations. The Indian as an individual claimed no land as his own. Ownership as understood by white men was impossible, for the forests and streams, the hills and the valleys could not be moved; they belonged to ALL, and what the Indian claimed was his right to live on the portion he held, hunt in its forests and fish in its waters. It was his MOTHER, and he could no more sell it than he could the waters of the Great Lakes, for like them, the earth with its winds, rain and snow was not to be controlled. So when he made his treaties, he retained his rights to hunt and fish, so to speak, "while grass grows and water runs."

Unfortunately, the clause, "as long as they shall remain the property of the United States" had two meanings: the Indian in making the cessions, only transferred the rights he had held which were those of possession exclusively: he was sharing it in part only, retaining his hunting and fishing rights in perpetuity. On the other hand, our Government at once began to sell land to

settlers and speculators who at once claimed the well-known white man's "rights" of exclusive ownership and possession: if the Indian entered his lands, he was a trespasser, an intruder, to be driven off like a marauding vagrant. From the white man's standpoint, the United States NO LONGER OWNED THE LAND, a reality of course, but to the Indian, his exclusion was a violation of the treaty as well as a deprival of his natural rights. He was correct, and the white settler was also right in his stand, but the United States Government was not. Time and again it has made these two-faced treaties, not always consciously to be sure, but none the less effective in bringing on dissatisfaction and sooner or later, if not war, more or less violence, finally forcing new treaties in which successive cessions were made until nothing was left and the Indian was reduced to dire poverty or was exterminated.

While we realize that the westward march of the whites are inevitable, we cannot agree with the opinion of President Theodore Roosevelt that in substance, the extermination of the Indian was justified, for it was not, and no sophistry by President or publicist can justify our conduct.

Following the treaty of 1819, the Indians of the Saginaw region became restless, for they discovered that to the whites, the treaty meant one thing but to them another. Settlements were spreading out from Detroit, and not infrequently the arrogance of a few whites caused trouble; also, the natives were learning something of the value of the furs that were their chief article of trade, and fifteen-cent calico at fifty cents began to seem high to them. There were other grounds for dissatisfaction, and gradually they realized that in ceding their lands they had also ceded their natural rights. In addition, they still smarted over the virtual defeat of the British in the War of 1812, for they had found that the British were better disposed toward them than were the Americans. It may be said that it was a matter of policy with the British: we may concede this, but it was a very wise policy, and one that our own authorities might well have followed. It is too late now to undo wrongs inflicted

On the Indian, but there are other people who are not as we are, who are not only under our influence, but also in a sense are subjects - islanders of the Pacific, Koreans and Japanese to say nothing of Porto Ricans and thousands of natives in Alaska, and it will be well for us if we avoid the mistakes of the past in our relations with them.

In view of the unsettled situation in the Saginaw County it seemed advisable to establish a military post in the heart of the region, and in 1822 definite action was taken.

At Green Bay, Wisconsin, there had been established a military post with a strong garrison. Most of the native inhabitants were Menominees and Winnebagoes, the former distant language-cousins of the Chippewas, who while warlike enough, were at peace with the whites. All was quiet at Green Bay, for there was no influx of settlers, but at "Sagana Bay" things were different. We cannot for a moment question the sincere wish of General Cass to be fair and just, but he was a white man, and was hampered by positive instructions from Washington, and his whole attitude toward the Indian question is best exhibited in a letter from him to Senator Thomas H. Benton in part as follows: "But it is due to the character of our country and to the feelings of our citizens, that in our negotiations with these wretched people we should remember our strength and wealth and their weakness and poverty."

In 1932, Mr. B. Frank Emery, Director of Public Relations for the Michigan Mutual Liability Company, and Executive Secretary of the Old Fort and Historical Memorial Association of Michigan, published the seventh of a series of sketches of old Michigan Forts, "FORT SAGINAW, 1822-1823 THE STORY OF A FORGOTTEN FRONTIER POST." On March 13, 1910, the author of these pages had contributed a rather long paper,-"Saginaw's Brief Experience as a U.S. Military Post" to the Saginaw News-Courier. In collecting material he had correspondence with the War Department, interviewed men who well remembered the old stockade and its buildings, and were able to give much accurate information, which with

additional material, was furnished to Mr. Emery, who was also able to draw on sources not available to the present compiler. As a consequence, it may be said that his history of the fort here will remain the most competent authority on the subject of the military occupation of Saginaw, and has been largely used in this work. The untimely death of Mr. Emery, closed the series projected by him, and left unfinished a monumental work which undoubtedly in time would have been published in a volume that would have stood as an authority on history, as well as a fine piece of literary workmanship.

The spring following the Treaty of Saginaw, when the surveys were started in the ceded territory, complaints began to come to General Cass regarding obstruction of the surveyors and menaces to the settlers, and it seemed advisable to send a representative to Saginaw Bay (Saginaw) to investigate. From the report made to Cass, and at the demand of the Land Office for protection for its surveyors, the War Department decided to establish a post at Saginaw, and on the 22nd of May, 1822, Gen. Winfield Scott sent an order to Col. Ninian Pinckney of the Third Infantry, to select two companies at Green Bay under Major Daniel Baker to choose a place near the head of the bay (Saginaw), "but you will direct the commanding officer to correspond with Governor Cass on this point & to pay due deference to his opinions thereon." Scott gave particular instructions at considerable length, and informed Col. Pinckney that "The Quartermaster's department will send from Detroit the nails, hinges, locks, glass & etc., necessary for the huts." It is hoped the detachment will reach its destination in time to plant ptatoes and other vegetables. Seeds will be carried from Green Bay or procured from below." Then follows instructions "to cultivate a good understanding with the Indians in the neighborhood of Sagana, and also give protection to the Public surveyors in that quarter, and to such inhabitants as may establish themselves in that vicinity." The General further says he hopes "that nothing will occur to pevent Major Baker from accompanying this movement, as great confidence is reposed in his experience, talents & discretion."

Early in June, the schooner Superior was loaded with supplies and the officers, men, sutler and several of the wives and children of members of the expedition embarked, and on June 6, the vessel was under way out into Lake Michigan. There was a stop at Mackinac Island to exchange some articles of military clothing, and about the 18th, the Superior entered Saginaw River, where Captain Gillet in command of the vessel, dropped anchor abreast of a place where a band of Indians were camped near the site of the Wenonah Hotel.

It would seem that Capt. Gillet had never before entered the river, for he sent out of the small boats ahead to make observations of the stream. In this day when great freighters bring up cargoes to Saginaw, they have the benefit of a dredged channel marked by bouys, with special marks at the sharp bends. They have the power of steam, but Capt. Gillet had to depend on his Sails, which in turn, must be filled by favorable winds. As the river narrowed, there was no room to tack, and it was with difficulty that he got to the bar below Carrollton and anchored. Here Major Baker and his officers landed, while men of the schooner's crew went on ahead in boats, and in them "the officers crossed and recrossed several times before deciding on a site whereon to build the post." An Indian runner had already arrived with letters from Governor Cass, and the site Major Baker selected was the one or nearly so that Cass had in mind. The Major had before chosen sites for posts, and was considered unusually competent. Like Cass, he prophetically saw into the future. The finest of timber, fertile soil and a commanding situation were here. "With the officers, he paced out the lines of the enclosure and went back to the schooner for the night. Early the next morning the troops were disembarked: some walked with tools in their hands, others went in the small boats, and with its load thus lightened, the schooner was able to reach a point close to the chosen site. Soon the details were busy with the axes and saws and by night the dock was ready to receive the cargo. Another detail had erected the tents

and when the sun went down, retreat was sounded with the supper call, the cooks having a warm meal ready." What a picture! As we think of it we see the officers and their families with perhaps the Captain of the vessel and the sutler in a group, the enlisted men in their company messes with hearty appetites after the long day's toil, all in equal enjoyment, and perhaps without a thought that a century later a large city would have spread north, south, east and west, to blot out their camp site but not their memory, or that very soon, some of them would sleep beneath the great trees scarce a minute's walk from where they sat with laugh and jest. It is well we cannot read the future.

Two weeks previous, the army quartermaster at Detroit in compliance with orders, had loaded the schooner Decatur, Captain Burnham, with the supplies ordered by General Scott; she had sailed from Detroit and arriving in Saginaw Bay, had laid to off Big Charity Island waiting for the Superior, but had not seen the latter arrive, so made sail and working her way up the river, was able to use the dock built by the soldiers, after the Superior had unloaded. While waiting, her crew took two small boats and went up several of the rivers that form the Saginaw and returned with enthusiastic accounts of the country.

The Detroit Gazette under date of Friday, July 26, 1822, has this news. "Sagana Bay.-The schr. Superior, Capt. Gillet, arrived here on Sunday last, from Green Bay and Sagana. She landed at the latter place, Major Baker and the detachment of Infantry, which was to form a garrison there. The Schr. Decatur Capt. Burnham, left this port about two weeks since, with supplies for the garrison at Sagana."

The reader will note the spelling of Saginaw of that day, and will also observe that "Sagana Bay" was the ordinary term for what we now call Saginaw River. It was and still is, little more than an estuary of the bay, and its sluggish waters, at times raised and with a current upstream by north or northeast winds, might well be called a part of the bay.

By August 2nd, the Gazette had received further news concerning "The military post at Sagana--we are informed, by a gentleman who recently visited the Sagana country, that Major Baker has fixed upon a site for the military establishment, on the Sagana River about 25 miles from its mouth, and about 5 miles below where the four great streams, the Cass, Flint, Sciawassa, and Tittibawassa, enter into it. This site is a few miles below the principal village, and nearly opposite the residence of the war-chief,Kishkauko." It seems that further observation had caused this narrow part of "Sagana Bay" to be recognized as a river.

The battalion under Major Baker comprised "K" Company under Capt. John Garland whose officers were Second-Lieutenants James B. Allen and Henry Bainbridge, and "H" Company under Capt. Stephen Webb, with First-Lieutenant Edward E. Brooks and Second-Lieutenant Benjamin Walker. Second-Lieutenant Horatio N. Baker, a brother of the Major was Adjutant, and the medical officer was Assistant-Surgeon Zina Pitcher. There appears to be some discrepancy in the accounts giving the number of enlisted men, but it was probably about a hundred: there was also the sutler and his clerks, which with the women and children brought the total to about one hundred and fifty, among whom there might have been two or three civilian employes.

No time was lost in erecting buildings, the first being a strong blockhouse at the present northeasterly corner of Court and Hamilton, which at first served as a magazine and guard house. The fort proper, was laid out in a parallelogram about 200 feet in width and 350 feet in length, the northerly line of pickets approximately on the present building line of the block containing the Fordney Hotel and the Merrill Building, with its line about that of the Merrill Building on its westerly end. The stockade extended across Hamilton Street to the brow of the hill which pitched quite sharply toward the river. Near the southeasterly corner a great elm tree stood until some time in the eighteen-eighties. About east of this treee a creek entered the river

from the west, crossing Michigan Avenue at its intersection with Cass. At this late day it is hard to visualize the topography of 1822. The late Norman L. Miller, than whom there was no better authority, informed the author that as boy, a bridge crossed this creek on South Michigan Avenue, and that he and other boys often fished from it. It flowed through a ravine, deep near the fort, and its steep bank was a military advantage. A good idea of the river-bank in front of the fort and of the creek southward, may be obtained by a look at the rear of the lots now occuped as a gas station at the northeast corner of Mackinaw and South Michigan Avenue.

The stockade was formed of heavy hardwood pickets, mostly oak, hewed on three or possibly, four sides, and deeply set in the ground above which they projected about ten feet, and were firmly bound together by stout strips of oak set in a groove near the tops of the posts, and firmly pinned in place, and as usual, loop-holed for musketry fire.

There were two main gates, one opening on what is now Michigan Avenue, the other, the "water gate," opening toward the river. These gates were twelve feet wide with posts twelve feet high, which were connected by a heavy framed timber across the top. They were double, each leaf or gate six feet wide, and when closed, were fastened with heavy double bars. Nearly opposite the blockhouse outside the stockade, a small gate or door provided means of passage to it. The officers' quarters were ranged along the north side of the enclosure, about fifty feet inside the pickets: the soldiers' barracks on the west side the same distance from the line, with the hospital and store-houses along the east side. There was also a guard-house, but its location seems uncertain, although Emery says "the guard-house was near the south gate," but there was no south gate, and perhaps it may be a misprint. As soon as the buildings were completed, small block-houses were erected in the northwest and southeast corners about six feet inside the picket lines. Of the one in the southeast corner, the late Addison T. Brown,Sr.

said in a letter: "The old Government block-house stood on that corner-Hamilton and Adams until 1868 with its second story out, overset about twelve inches all around, and some of the palisades were still in place about it in 1868." All the author's informants said that each picketw as hewn to a point. A flagstaff was in the center of the open space which formed the parade ground. Along the westerly side, an Indian trail ran, southward to what a correspondent to the Detroit Gazette called in 1822, "the principal Indian village," which was in the vicinity of the Green Point Mounds and a noted wild plum orchard and Indian corn-fields.

Of the blockhouse in the southeasterly corner, the late Egbert Vogt, a very reliable informant said: "It was constructed of square-hewed black walnut logs, facing on Hamilton Street, and in later years was erroneously called 'the fort,' for it was the last remaining building within the stockade. West of this blockhouse was the large well that had suplied the garrison with water, and in my time there, the water was raised in a bucket by means of an old fashioned 'sweep' a method unknown to the present generation." Mr. Vogt further described the blockhouse as being of two stories," the door opening on Hamilton Street was very large, and was in two parts like an old-time gristmill door, having an upper and lower part with heavy bars for each." This building was bought by Mr. Vogt's father in September of 1850, with the two lots on which it stood, and with his family, he lived in it until 1852 or 1853, using it as a hotel. Mr. Vogt further said that only two other Government buildings were still standing at that time, one of which was a house that had been built for the government blacksmith, Benjamin Cushway, at the southeasterly corner of Court and Hamilton Streets," and was a frame building of the 'balloon' type, its timbers being pinned together with wooden pins." It was not built until the post had been abandoned for some time, but stood within the stockade near the northeast angle. This house still stands at the south-easterly corner of South Fayette and Perry Streets, but has been so built

over that it is scarcely recognizable. At the time of Mr. Vogt's information, (1926) it was practically the same as when first erected, and was owned and occupied by his sisters, Gertrude and Elizabeth Vogt. The other building spoken of was that across the street from the Cushway house, the first to be built by the soldiers, and the last to remain until it was burned in 1870.

In the construction of the fort buildings considerable black walnut was used, for it was quite plentiful, and among the relics of it in existence there are some pieces of this fine wood which have seemingly been cut up into short lengths from a cane for distribution as souvenirs. Gate and other hinges as well as other iron-work were hand-made, and so far as known to the author, the only other relics are a pair of long hinges now in the possession of Albert Blower of James Township. Some years ago, there were on the barn doors of the late Charles Cook between Frankenmuth Junction and the Dixie Highway bridge across the Cass River, two pairs of long hinges from some of the buildings in the fort, and Mr. Cook was offered new ones with a good cash addition for them but refused the offer. Unfortunately, some years ago, the barn was burned, and what became of the hinges is not on record.

In building the fort, so much timber was required that a considerable clearing had been made extending west along the creek mentioned, as well as north and northeast, and the open space continually grew owing to the great quantities of firewood used, and it thus became the first clearing of much size made by white men in a vast territory.

In August of 1822, Major Baker received a letter from the Asst. Adjutant General of the Eastern Department of the army in which we read: "In surveying and laying off for sale the lands in the vicinity of Sagana, which is now in course of execution, it is desirable that a mile square should be reserved for a Military post at that place, making the post itself the center of the reservation." Major Baker was further ordered to lay the description of the reservation before the officials of the Land Office at Detroit for record.

The land thus reserved would be approximately bounded on the east by a line north and south passing through the northwest corner of Brady Hill Cemetery; on the north by a line east and west at Irving Avenue; on the west by a line running north and south at Thurman Street, and on the south by Vermont Street, thus forming a square with the fort at the center.

It was not many weeks before that pathetic reminder of the solitude of the wilderness life, a spot to lay the remains of the dead, had to be chosen, for one of the soldiers passed away. The location of the burial ground is not entirely certain. Mr. Emery in his publication says:"It was about where the residence of the sheriff of the sheriff of Saginaw County now stands." This is immediately in the rear of the First Methodist Church on Adams Street, but Mr. Vogt said it was on the bank of the little stream that flanked the fort on its southerly side, and that he had seen eight skeletons disenterred at that point, which from his description was somewhat south of the present Baptist Church. We do know that the remains of those deceased during the military occupation that were not removed to other places, where reburied in Oakwood Cemetery.

Before autumn in 1822, reports came to Detroit that the station at Sagana was unhealthy, but as land speculators were busy and the linear survey was going on, the rumors were disquieting, but in the Oct. 4th issue of the Gazette, its readers were informed that "Information from Sagana represents the force at that place as in excellent health and spirits and busily engaged in erecting their barracks." But reports still came of ill health and on December 6th, we learn that "The troops at Sagana, 150 in number,...have lost but one man; and his death is not attributed to any disease contracted at the post. There has been some sickness among the troops previous to the erection of the barracks, but not more than was to be expected in the formation of a new post at a distance from any white settlement."

During the winter, the surveyors were busy: to a certain extent, the swamps were frozen, and work proceeded with considerable speed. Also a contract was let at Detroit for the survey of a military road from that place to Saginaw Bay. A road had already been opened from Detroit to Pontiac, such as it was, leaving two-thirds of the distance to be made. In part, this survey approximately followed the Indian Trail between Pontiac and Flint, but from Flint northward the surveyors ran a line due north eight miles; thence northwest in a straight line to the Cass River and across about a half-mile, and from that point, straight to Bridgeport where it struck the Indian Trail to Saginaw, which it followed with apparently little more than a perfunctory survey over the present Washington Road to Green Point. So far as the Indians were concerned, their villages, cornfields and fishing-grounds were of far greater importance to them than the immediate vicinity of the fort, and it was just a matter of convenience and to save distance that Campau had bridged the bayou east of the present Mackinaw Street Bridge, for there had been no trail to that point, and the Indian path to the villages at the present waterworks and along the Grove and vicinity, branched from the main trail a half-mile south of Mt. Olivet Cemetery, and practically followed Washington Ave., northward. In its January 17, 1823 issue, the Gazette notes that "the Commissioners employed to lay out a road from Pontiac to the Sagana River, have completed this survey. The road we are informed runs through a beautiful tract of country and can be made passable with little labor."*

With the coming of spring, 1823, the garrison bestirred itself, and gardens were planted. On May 4th, the daughter of Major Baker, Harriet, and Capt. Webb were married, but it is sad to record, that little more than a year later, after the command had arrived at Detroit, the young bride, then less than nineteen years of age, passed away, a pathetic ending of a romantic courtship and wedding.

*See Appendix

The rumors that reached Detroit as to sickness at the post persisted, and with good reason, for there was plenty of cause. In fact it was reported that the fort was to be abandoned, so people in Detroit got busy and on June 4, sent a remonstrance to the Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun. Emery says: "The signers of this letter represented the 'Who's Who' in Detroit, and a reading of the names confirms the statement. The Gazette on June 27th, also represented the dangers to the settlers from the Indians should the soldiers be removed, and in the same issue publishes a letter signed "A Emigrant," in which the emigrant says that "The flourishing Village of Sagana is beautifully situated, and the health of the inhabitants has hitherto been equal to that of any village in the Territory," and predicts that in five years it will be the "Capital of the State of Michigan." This "flourishing village" flourished but little outside of the stockade, and the enthusiasm of the letter-writer was probably that of one who in the near past has been called "a promoter." What were the real conditions? On August 23rd, we find Captain Garland in command and he reports to the Commanding General, Department of the East as follows:

"Sir: It is my duty to apprise the Commanding Officer of this Department that this garrison is now in a most deplorable situation; Major Baker and Lieut. Baker are both dangerously ill of remittent fever. All the officers belonging to the Command are sick except myself. The Doctor was so much indisposed this morning as to make it necessary for me to send to Detroit for a physician, and it is not altogether certain that one can be hired at one place. Lieut. Allen died of Typhoid Fever on the morning of the 21st. inst., and a soldier died of the same disease last night; there are scarcely well men enough left to take care of the sick.

P.S. There is not a situation within sixty miles of us that is deemed more healthy than the one we now occupy. J.G."

No telegraphs or railroads in that day, so it was not until the 16th of September, that from Headquarters at Governor's Island, New York, an order was sent to abandon the post, and within an hour after it was received at Detroit, an Indian runner was on his way to "Sagana," and while we await his coming, let us hear from Dr. John L. Whiting.

Dr. Whiting had a large practice in Detroit, and at that time was very busy, but he was to have an experience which nearly cost him his life in his devotion to a service he had volunteered to perform. From a letter written by him in 1876, we have a picture of the situation at Fort Sagana in part as follows.

"The summer of 1823 proved to be a very sickly one, a very aggravated type of intermittent fever being the universal disease, as only one of the officers and men escaped an attack of greater or less severity, and he an old soldier of three enlistments of five years each. Among the sufferers by the disease was the surgeon, Dr. Pitcher, who for several days was carried from his quarters to the bedside of his patients, for whom he was the only person to prescribe. In this state of things the commanding officer, Major Baker, having been laid on a sick bed, Capt. Garland, next in command, made a requisition on Quartermaster Samuel Stanton for a surgeon to relieve Dr. Pitcher."

"It was a very busy season with me, and at a great personal sacrifice I consented to go, and at two P.M. of that day, mounted my horse and under the guidance of a soldier set my face toward and through the wilderness to the ill-fated 'City of Saginaw,' distant one hundred miles.

"We left on Wednesday, 29th, and at eight, A.M., Friday, I sat down to a most superb breakfast at the quarters of Capt. Garland, with whom I staid for about three weeks, when I was taken sick myself and took quarters at the officers' mess-house, where I spent three of the most harassing weeks of my whole life, but through a kind Providence recovered sufficiently to leave with the other members of the command for Detroit on the schooner Red Jacket (Capt. Walker), about the 25th of October, and arrived in safety about the 30th of the same month."

Further on in his letter he says: "I have given above the names of the officers of the detachment, of whom Lieut. Allen had died before I got to the fated city. The Major's wife, a daughter* and a young son about fifteen years of age, (who was a cadet in Capt. Partridge's school at Norwich, Vermont, a most promising youth) and Lieut. Nelson Baker also died while I was at the post, and one enlisted man only."

"The command reached Detroit in fair condition and remained in the cantonments at the head of Wayne as it was, and north of Fort Street. Dr. Pitcher continued so feeble that I continued to do his duty until the following spring."

Surgeon Pitcher remained so ill that for weeks he hovered near death, but with the exception of Major Baker's daughter, the recovery of the command and the persons attached to it was rapid, althouth when they arrived at Detroit about thirty of the soldiers were on sick report.

From Capt. Garland's letter to the Commanding General, we note the decease of one enlisted man, and Dr. Whiting reports the death of another, while on a previous page the death of another was noted as having occurred prior to December, 1822, making three enlisted soldiers who found graves in the little post cemetery. There had been one wedding and one birth, a daughter of some one attached to the post, name unknown, but it was the first white female birth in what is now Saginaw. Thus three momentous events of a woman's life occurred, the joy of her baby's birth; the happiness of marriage and the sad pathos of death.

A few more details concerning the prevalent disease and its victins may be noted, and also the exodus from the pestilential spot.

In August, 1823, nearly all the troops and twenty-four of the women and children were down with the fever, and the one soldier who escaped it had suffered from it during the first of his fifteen years of service. That so few of the soldiers died seems remarkable.

* Major Baker's daughter died after reaching Detroit. F.D.

The joy of the garrison on receipt of the orders for removal may be imagined, and "The reception of the order had the effect of raising the morale of the garrison, which was at a very low ebb. The work of removal went on very slowly owing to the enfeebled condition of the men. The vessel ordered for their use did not arrive until the 22nd of October. The water in front of the dock was very low, and only a part of the baggage and supplies could be loaded there. It was necessary to move the vessel down about a mile and transport the rest to that point. On the morning of the 26th before the sun was up the anchor was raised and the vessel was on its way."

"She arrived and docked at Detroit on the evening of the 29th, and it was such a relief that many fell on their knees and prayed and wept."

On November 4, 1823, Capt. Garland reported to the Headquarters of the Eastern Department enclosing his return for October. He notes the arrival at Detroit and says: "The sick derived great benefit from the voyage as will appear from the small number now bourne on the report. The Surgeon is under serious apprehension for the fate of Dr. Pitcher who still continues extremely ill. Major Baker has entirely recovered his health and will assume command of this post tomorrow."

Captain Garland had left a non-commissioned officer and four soldiers with seven months' provisions at the fort for its safe-keeping, and having ample supplies and good quarters they put in a comfortable winter, although it was necessary several times to send out two of the men to apprehend "some evil doer." Early frosts that fall checked any return of the fever, which with our present understanding of the cause of the disease, just meant that the mosquito-carriers of the germ were frozen up, hence innocuous. The post library had been left, and that winter it was loaned out to those living in the village and was the first circulating library in the valley," and Emery further says that "Two of these books were found in a second-hand store in Saginaw a short time ago." (1930 or 1931)

Of the five soldiers in the detail two, when their enlistments were over married and took up lands in the valley," and their descendants have become leaders in the State."

In 1824, the post was completely abandoned so far as the garrison was concerned, and in June, 1825, the lands reserved were sold together with the fort and its buildings. In conclusion we quote the following sentence from Mr. Emery's monograph on Fort Saginaw,- "Vanished is all evidence of this military occupation, and the only reminder is the tablet on the walls of the Fordney Hotel; -

'SO FLEET THE WORKS OF MAN' "

And thus The Story of the Soldier at Saginaw is finished.

Chapter III
MEN OF VISION AND PURPOSE

In this account we have touched lightly on other sections of the Saginaw Region, for the focus of all was SAGINAW, and in a sense, still is, but we note some anomolies, for there was a time when the Grand Traverse now Flint, had counted eighty persons, while Saginaw only had thirty. This was not strange, for the former was a third nearer Detroit, at that time the metropolis not only of Michigan, but the whole Northwest Territory. The converging streams that united at Saginaw, were largely instrumental in making it the center of the northern part of the Lower Peninsula. Lower Saginaw, now Bay City, did not come into existence for years, but being at the head of deep water in the river as well as close to great quantities of commercial fish it became a shipbuilding and fishing port. Midland like Saginaw, was at the forks of rivers, and after its lumber was gone, for a period of time it slumbered, but its vast supplies of brine, carrying so many of the chemical elements, awakened it from its sleep, while Alma, the result of human failings in some of our own people, may be considered one of those anomolies such as Flint, for St. Louis, in some ways better situated than Alma, has been overshadowed by its lusty neighbor. As to Flint, sixty years ago it was a fine, healthy country town, making buggies and carriages. It had a population of ten or eleven thousand, grew slowly but steadily and its people were very largely the descendants of Old American stock. The automobile came into existence: it was a vehicle

just as a buggy was a vehicle, and Flint became a sprawling, polyglot town, half again as large as Saginaw, and once more repeating history in its comparative population. Corunna and Owosso may also be mentioned, with Owosso, like Flint, once the Grand Traverse of the Shiawassee, with waterpower to aid its settlement, then railroads centering there, left Corunna behind. What the future will bring we know not, for the philosophy of history teaches us the same lessons found in the Sacred Writings,-"Boast not of tomorrow, for ye know not what the day may bring forth."

When the fort at Saginaw was abandoned, there were a few whites who were more or less permanent residents, but it is doubtful if they numbered a half-dozen, and of them except Louis Campau and perhaps one or two of his brothers we can find no record.

Land speculators were busy in Michigan, for there were great areas of virgin forest and presumptively fertile soil, and insofar as their stories of the quality of the land was concerned, they were true, but "facts talked" and the arrival of the soldiers at Detroit, so many of them, feeble, haggard and worn out, gave little encouragment to possible settlers. Still, the prospective city-builders were optimistic, for later information seems to have indicated that the sweeping illness of 1823 was an unusual occurrence and Louis Campau stated in 1825, that generally speaking, as far as we knew, it was with the exception of 1823, comparatively healthy. While the prevalent fever and ague was trying, and temporarily disablihg, it seldom killed and was endurable. The two cases of death in the garrison of typhoid fever were perhaps sporadic, although had not Dr. Whiting specifically stated that the prevailing sickness was intermittent fever, we might wonder if the fatalities were not due to typhoid, for we know that before the days of quite recent medicine, it was very often fatal.

On May 27, 1924, Governor Cass writes to the Secretary of War in part as follows: "Sir: - If the Government have determined not to occupy Sagana as a military post, I would recommend that the site now occupied by the Public Works and buildings be sold." (Original spelling and punction used).

He elaborates somewhat further, and concluded: "I do not see that there can exist any objections to the sale of the Reservation." His recommendation was adopted, and in the spring of 1825, it was sold to Samuel W. Dexter, for whom Dexter, Washtenaw County was named.

It will be recalled that Major Baker had been instructed that it was desirable that a mile square should be reserved, but it seems that only one hundred acres was actually set off, it being probable that the surveyors then working in the region ran the lines, so if anyone is sufficiently interested to determine this plat, he can do so at the Saginaw County Register of Deeds office. It seems that the line were run on the cardinal points of the compass; and in relation to present streets the lines would be confusing, for they cross the present blocks at angles.

Then as now, there were far-sighted men, and among them we find the names of JAMES MC CLOSKEY and an associate, CAPTAIN JOHN FARLEY, who after nine years of service in the army, was honorably discharged in 1821. In 1822, during the military occupation, the two as partners bought of the Government a tract of land north of and apparently adjoining the military reservation which they had surveyed by John Mullet, the United States Surveyor than working in that region, and the plat was recorded at Pontiac, the then County Seat, on January 8, 1823. Although there are some errors, the best account of this platting was that of the son of Captain Farley, who himself was in the army for seventeen years, first as a cadet at the Military Academy at West Point, and resigning as a first-lieutenant in 1836. He inherited his father's proprty at Saginaw, and on pages 598 and 599 of Chapman's History of Saginaw County, we find a quotation from his journal giving the history of the plat. Lieut. Farley says: "The only sales made in the original town by Farley & Co. were lots Nos. 77,78, and 139, and lots 81,83 and 85...The troops were removed from the station in 1823 or 1824, and the place languished for some time, and the military reservation was sold to Mr. Dexter." It was called "The Town ofSagana."

Samuel W. Dexter like McCloskey and Farley, saw the future advantages of the location, and his purchase was surveyed in 1830, and recorded at Pontiac that year in December. There were twenty full blocks and three fractional blocks north of Court Street, and eight full and two fractional blocks south of that street, all of the fractional blocks lying between Water (Niagara) Street and the river. The name had become Saginaw. The two lots in Block 7 facing Court Street were designated PUBLIC BUILDING, while the two in Block 2 opposite, were designated as COMMONS, and in due time became sites for court house and jail.

Lieutenant Farley died in 1874, but at the time Chapman's History was published in 1880 or thereabouts, his widow still held much Saginaw property, and we may presume that FARLEY STREET (now Bristol) was named after Farley, father or son, and should never have been changed.

It does not appear that either of the Farleys, McCloskey or Dexter ever were residents in Saginaw, and with the exception of Captain Farley, all sold their holdings to others, who usually resold, the purchases and sales being largely speculative, although there was a core of permanent investment, such as the purchase by Dr. Charles Little of Avon, New York, of McCloskey's undivided half interest in the first plat, the latter having sold to A.G. Whitney of Detroit and he to Little.

While these transactions were taking place, a family which has left a deep impress not only on the Saginaw Region, but on all southeastern Michigan, The Williams, appear on the scene. They were New Englanders, and men of means and ambition, resourceful, and thoroughly competent to act their parts in the unfolding drama of taming the wilderness, and laying the foundations of future cities, where only a deserted fort, a few log cabins outside it, and all surrounded by a thick forest and impassable marshes covering thousands of acres which waited for the axe and the drainage canal and the plow to blossom into fertility well within a century. This family has not been selected because they were superior to many others, but on account of their number, background, versatility and typical

Americanism they represent practically all of the best types of pioneers outside the learned professions, who built up this part of the Commonwealth of Michigan. There were others as good, but as we have before noted, this is not a biography of men, but a general story of a region, with enough of incident to illustrate the picture of progress and retrogression that are commonly inseparable in the development and growth of communities or states.

The founder of this family, Major Oliver Williams, was born in Roxbury, Mass., and died on his farm at Silver Lake, Oakland County, Michigan, Oct. 11, 1834. He had moved from his former home in Massachusetts to Detroit in 1815, after having been there more or less beginning in 1808, and was there most of the time during the War of 1812, and was present at the surrender of that place by General Hull. Major Williams was the father of a large family, among them, Ephriam S., Gardner D. and Benjamin O., sons who were to become DOERS just as the Farleys, Dexters and Littles were SEERS.

We find Ephriam and Gardner Williams at Saginaw in 1828, although they did not move their families there until the following year, and Ephraim in his personal reminiscences in the Michigan Pioneer Collections says of the trip to Saginaw: "In 1829 I moved to Saginaw, our party going on horseback, I carrying my daughter (aged about three) before me on a pillow. My wife's sister and others accompanied us. The first night we camped at Pine Run. The next day we arrived at Saginaw, and made our home in the officers' quarters - a very comfortable place, inside the stockade, until I built on the corner of Mackinaw and Washington (now South Michigan) streets." His house was on the northerly side of Mackinaw and that of Gardner D., was on grounds now occupied by the Arthur Hill Trade School.

Of their home in the fort Mr. Williams says: "The military reserve was purchased of the government by Samuel Dexter of Dexter, Mich., for seven or eight thousand dollars. Mr. Dexter often urged my brother and myself to purchase the property, which at one time he offered to us for seven thousand dollars. Afterwards he sold it to Dr. Millington of Ypsilanti, for $11,000,

who in turn, sold it to Mr. Norman Little...for $55,000 - a nice little speculation in a short time for the doctor."

Regarding their affairs at Saginaw, Mr. Williams stated that when they began business in the Indian trade in 1828, they occupied the sutler's store outside the stockade. This was probably an error, for from the records we find that the only building outside the fort in its immediate vicinity was the blockhouse mentioned as having been the first building erected, and was used for military purposes only. As was common at frontier posts where there was considered to be danger, the sutler, having a semi-military standing was permitted to erect his buildings inside the fortification if such there was. However, there is a possibility that the blockhouse was turned over to the sutler after the buildings in the fort were completed, and Mr. Williams may have been correct.

For some time previous to the comming of the William brothers, the Frenchman Reaume, had been the agent of the American Fur Company, and was in bitter competition with Campau, so much so that quarrels resulted, growing into a feud with personal difficulties, and the troubles had spread to the Indians causing "fierce partisan hatred," with a consequence that Reaume's personal safety was endangered to such an extent that his store was closed too much of the time for him to be a profitable agent. As a consequence, Judge Abbott of Detroit, Supt., for the American Fur Company, removed Reaume and appointed the Williams brothers as their agent, they buying Reaume's outfit and goods, and soon the new firm, "G.D. & E.S. Williams" built what was soon known as "The Red Store" on what is now Niagara Street, near the northwest corner of it and Mackinaw Street. The large building called "The Red Warehouse," was of much later date, and was located at the foot of Cleveland Street, and was built by other parties.

In the fall of 1828, Ephriam Williams with three assistants, took a stock of goods to what is now Midland where the sub-agent of the American Fur Co., had been driven out by the opposition, but the William's were made of stern stuff. The store of their rivals was in charge of three men, and the hostility

of the Indians toward Reaume and his assistants had been the chief factor in their expulsion. Ephriam Williams reoccupied the store, and before matters were settled, he and his helpers had some exciting times. They not only maintained their position, but built up a large trade.

Aside from the Indian and fur trade, things were moving very slowly at Saginaw. Settlers were not yet clear of the terror that walked by day and night in the fatal summer of 1823, and were looking for more favored places, and there was an interlude of several years following with no increase in the population, and Saginaw was of ill-repute. In the following chapter we will see the Saginaw Region as it appeared to two men of contrasting background and lineage.

CHAPTER IV
The Explorers

In Volume II, Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections we find an article by James L. Cole, one of a party who made a trip from Detroit to Saginaw under the title, "J.L. Cole's Journal of a Pedestrian Tour From Detroit to Sagana River in 1822." As this journey was made previous to the arrival of the soldiers at Saginaw that year, it furnishes some clear pictures that are of value in our early history.

It appears that in addition to Mr. Cole, three others of the party, "Mr. Ballard, Dr. Tyler and Mr. Humphrey" went on foot, while Judge Sprague, Dr. Little and Dr. Smith were mounted on horses. Cole, Tyler and Humphrey started "Friday, 24th May, 1822.-Left Detroit at 8 o'clock A.M." on their way to Pontiac, where they were to meet the rest of the party. Cole says: "My equipment consisted of a gun, powder horn and pouch, knife, knapsack and staff."

"The country for a mile or more northwest of Detroit is a level untimbered plain, at the extremity of which the forest commenses. Five or six miles farther on the land appears to be low and in many places covered several inches in depth with water. From this I would not have it inferred that the soil is swampy. The fact of it being heavily timbered shows that it is not so, and the same fact accounts for the wetness of the land."

"About ten miles from Detroit the 'plains' or oak openings, commence and continue in pretty uniform succession the residue of the distance to Pontiac."

The party stayed that night and part of the next day at Pontiac, had dinner, and with Sprague as a guide, proceded mostly through oak openings, for four miles to Major Oliver William's at Silver Lake which they much admired, Cole saying; "Although not far from forty rods in breadth, it is said to be thirty feet in depth, and to abound in the finest fish." They proceded "Four miles on the trail from Mr. William's to the residence of his brother-in-law. (Alpheus Williams) The country continues much the same. Here we concluded to stop for the night."

"Before supper, at the instance of Judge Sprague, we ascended a conical elevation of land very precipitous and lofty, from the summit of which, for many miles in circumferance, we were presented with the view of a most picturesque and beautifully diversified country. Lakes, valleys, uplands, and groves of pine and other timber here met the eye to an extent that occasioned an equal degree of surprise and pleasure. The same deficiency of timber was observable in our route today that we have before glanced at. We have as yet found few stones, comparatively less in number than we have before noticed in the same extent of territory."

They left the Alpheus Williams place before sunrise the next morning, May 25th, and proceeded four miles along the trail to a small lake, "into which empty what are called the little springs. The water we drank at these springs was remarkably pure and cool. Four miles farther on we came to the Big Springs. (Both the Big and Little Springs lie on the margins of lakes, to which they contribute a perpetual supply of water). The water in these is similar in temperature to that of the former, but appears to be strongly impregnated with sulphur...For eight or ten miles we passed over a tract in no essential respects differing from that we have just described to a running stream, where we halted and took some refreshments.

Near us were the remains of an Indian village called Grande Blas (pronounced Grande Blanc). Leaving the Grande Blanc we proceeded six miles to a small stream called Thread River, and from this to the Flint River, one mile, where we put up at Smith's (an Indian trader) for the night. The timber along the route is thin and scattered, consisting principally of oak, but there are some inconsiderable groves of hickory and pine. The water of the country is clear and wholesome, and uniformly excellent."

"Monday, 27th May - Left Smith's at sunrise, and taking the new trail, which is said to be a nearer route to Saginaw than the old, we proceeded due north about five miles, where, finding a stream of cool, pure water, we bathed and took some refreshments."

From the context, we must conclude that the stream where they bathed was a branch of Pine Run Creek for there could be no other that distance "due north" of Flint. The "new trail" they were following was in part, the later surveyed route to Saginaw, now the Dixie Highway, otherwise "U.S. 10."

In some manner they got off this new trail on another which bore eastward, so after eating they went their way "expecting in the course of ten or twelve miles to reach the river Cass, where we designed to stop, but to our sore disappointment, we continued to march without finding it until nearly night, when we pitched our tent at an Indian village on its border. From the place where we first stopped to Cass River must be not less than twenty-five miles. The country for the most part of the way is level and heavily timbered with oak, beech, maple, some black walnut, elm, ash, pine, etc. The pine is the largest kind we recollect having seen. Many of the trees are upwards of four or five feet in diameter near the earth, and were very straight and lofty. The oaks were likewise of an astonishing growth. Dr. Smith measured the circumference of one of them and found it sixteen feet and three inches, six feet from the ground. The land varies very little from this; during the whole route we passed several small streams of running water, most of them clear, cook and apparently perpetual."

Unless they wandered considerably farther off, the distance to the Cass at the Great Bend where they found themselves would be 21 or 22 miles, and it is quite evident that they got off the white man's "trail" a mile or two southeast of the present Birch Run village taking a real Indian trail that brought them to the Cass nearly two miles northeast of where they wished to stop.

"The apparently perpetual small streams of running water" with the exception of Pine Run Creek, no longer exist, for when the land was cleared, the sponge-like forests no longer held the waters which disappeared with the trees. It was not a country of springs, and in this day, small lakes give like to the Cass, but with a greatly diminished flow in summer.

The party broke camp at sunrise the next morning and proceeded on their journey. After traveling four or five miles they "were agreeably surprised on meeting with two Frenchmen, who informed us we were within four miles of the Saginaw River; continued traveling a little more than that distance, and arrived at the river opposite the house of Mr. Campau (an Indian trader); crossed the river and breakfasted with that gentleman. The party then, with the exception of the secretary, (Cole) took a canoe and started for the mouth of the river. They found the burden too heavy for the boat, which induced Dr. Tyler and Mr. Ballard to return. The party remaining at Mr. Campau's spent the residue of the day in contending with mosquitoes."

"Wednesday, 29th May. - Towards sunset the party which went down the river returned. They expressed their admiration of the appearance of the country to the bay, which is for nearly the whole distance (eighteen miles) susceptible for settlement and cultivation." The following day, the whole party except Cole and Dr. Tyler who were unable to get horses, started on a trip to the forks of the Tittabawassee, the party taking a westerly course, struck the river about four miles above its mouth. "About twelve miles above the mouth of the river they called at an Indian village...At the village there appeared to be a fine growth of English grass. Thence to the forks of the river, where there is a small Indian village, and thence up the Pine River, about three miles, to another Indian village

The average breadth of the river (Tittabawassee) according to the estimation of the party, for the distance they traversed it, is twenty rods. It is a smooth, deep, unobstructed stream, navigable for batteaus drawing three feet of water at any season. At the forks of the river the banks are upward of fifteen feet in height, gradually receding to the mouth of the river. Many groves of black walnut grow on its borders, and some apple trees. No less than seven or eight Indian villages are scattered along the route."

"The Indians appear in all of them filthy, indolent, drunken and wretched. In the afternoon, Dr. Tyler and the secretary, with a Frenchman by the name of Tremblois, visited the Indian village two miles up the river from Mr. Campau's. There is a most beautiful open flat called Green Point at the upper extremity of which stands the village. This flat is apparently free from inundation, and produces the most luxuriant growth of grass...I should judge it covers an area of from thirty to fifty acres."

"Friday, 31st May - Toward evening the party returned to Mr. Campau's, and made the report on which the above remarks are founded."

"Saturday, 1st June. - After breakfast we departed from Mr. Campau's on our return to Detroit. Crossing the Sagana and proceeding two or three miles, till in sight of the Indian village mentioned day before yesterday, (Green Point) on the opposite of the river, we gave a signal to the Indians, who sent two of their children in a canoe. Mr. Ballard, Dr. Tyler, Mr. Humphrey and myself, took the canoe and, entering the mouth of the Cass, proceeded a few miles up the river, while the residue of the party with their horses, went by land. We met them where the trail crosses the river, and having waited a few minutes for their horses to ford it, went our way, until we struck the Indian reservation on the Flint River, crossed the Flint just below Reaume's (Neome's) village, (an Indian chief) on a flood raft, and recrossed it after arriving opposite his wigwam. The country on the Flint, in this region, is high and for the most part excellent. Near Reaume's village we found a cool spring of water which empties into the river."

(This spring still flows: it is some feet above the ordinary stage of water in the river, and is not far south of the Indian church and cemetery in Taymouth Township.) There are some flats on the Flint that are as fine as that at the Indian village on the Sagana. From Campau's to Reaume's the distance is computed at sixteen miles. Left Reaume's about 2 P.M., and taking the trail pursued our journey, intending to stop for the night at Smith's on the Flint. The country between Reaume's and Smith's is more rolling and uneven than we had yet found it, and for the best part, well timbered and adequately watered. Night overtaking us before we had completed two-thirds of the distance from Reaume's to Smith's, we were unable to take as close observations as we could have wished. We feel satisfied, however, that no part of the territory possesses more decided advantages than the tract we have passed today. There are many mud-holes along the path, but these would disappear on clearing away the timber. Arrived at Smith's not far from midnight, nearly exhausted with fatigue and hunger."

The next morning, Sunday, June 2nd, they crossed the Flint and arrived near evening at Alpheus William's where they lodged. Cole relates that out of curiosity, one of the party counted seventeen or eighteen lakes in the day's travel, and that " there are said to be not less than fifty between the Flint, at Smith's, and Pontiac, a distance of thirty-six miles." He further says: "Remained at night at Williams' and ate the first comfortable meal we have had since our departure from the same place." The following day, June 3rd and the next, they continued on to Detroit, "having experienced no material accident during their absence, in perfect health, and with the most favorable, I might add, enthusiastic opinion of the natural advantages of Michigan."

Cole's Journal covering less than five pages of the Pioneer Collections for 1878, is a model of terse information. There is no philosophizing, no character painting and none of the brilliancy shown by Alexis de Tocqueville whose story is to follow. On the other hand, there is a definite clearness to the entire account that is lacking in that of the great Frenchman. Four of the Cole party were on foot, and all were prepared for the viscistitudes of the wilderness: they

had a tent, and by its use at night, could in part escape the torments of the mosquitoes of which few people now living have even a moderate degree of realization. We ask, what was their purpose? But there is nothing revealed in the journal. Judging by their titles, three at least, were professional men. Were they spying out the land with the purpose of settlement or investment? Perhaps; but if so there is nothing to directly indicate it, so we may consider the story as that of a tour of observation. There is little to read between the lines, and as to Cole, who was he? It is likely that his name is preserved in the annals of Detroit, and it is sufficient for this work to have the story of an American explorer who has left us the clearest description of the route from Detroit to Saginaw in that very early day we have been able to find. Of personal anecdote there is practically none, but the five pages are replete with description. The personalities of the party are kept in the background: not even their first names are given, and we may infer that "Dr. Little" may have been the Dr. Little from Avon, N.Y., who has been a figure in the early days of Saginaw.

We note another significant point. This journey was just previous to the arrival at Saginaw of Major Baker and his battalion which had the duty of overawing the Indians who were presumably hostile: "the settlers were afraid of them" - but there were no settlers; Detroit wanted an outpost, a new feeder for its trade, and a military post was a great asset in that line. They got it, but where in Cole's Journal is there mention of unfriendly savages? True enough, they were greatly dissatisfied, but here we read between the lines of our story the WHY of the coming of the soldiers, and realize that the ways of the White Man were at times as devious as the windings of the Cass River.

Whatever Cole saw with his own eyes, he recorded with great accuracy, but what was reported to him by other members of the party was not always as clear, for we recall that part of them went up the Tittabawassee to a point on the Pine River three miles above its mouth, while others had made a boat trip to the mouth of the "Sagana," but in neither instance have we been able to correlate the descriptions with the actualities, but there were neither

overdrawn pictures of perversions of facts. The whole Journal was the work of a very intelligent man of perhaps good education, and through its study, certain heretofore rather troublesome problems have been cleared up.

We now come to a date in the annals of the Saginaw Region that should be marked on the Calendar of its History, for it brought an unusual visitor, one with a prophetic vision and great learning, Alexis de Tocqueville. This man with the understanding, the analytical mind and the keenness of a Frenchman who was later to write that rarely illuminating work, "Democracy in America," as well as many historical and philosophical treatises, visited America in 1831 for the purpose of gathering material for his great work, and in the course of his extensive travels, came to Saginaw in the summer of that year. His traveling companion was an educated Frenchman, an author, whose purpose in visiting this country was to gather sketches of the manners and customs of the people which he afterwards used in writing a novel with the title "Marie", in which he described the forests and other features of the very wilderness of the Saginaw country which they had visited, and if it had been translated into English, perhaps we would have had a greatly enlarged picture of this particular journey.

De Tocqueville's Memoirs and many of his unpublished works were translated and published in two volumes in England and in 1862 the same was printed by Ticknor and Fields at Boston, Mass. There are possible discrepancies in dates and positively so in distances, but it must be remembered that our version is a translation from the French. The chapters in this work, "A Fortnight in the Wilderness," and "A Visit to Oneida Lake," are, especially the first, classics of observation, analysis and prophecy, and we can do no better than to quote passages directly from the work, with our own observations and perhaps some explanations.

Saginaw has had a number of excellent recorders of its early days: they were a part of its life, hence their stories are not always those of spectators, but of participants. Several of them were very well educated for the times, but

necessarily their points of view were close to the subject, and lacked perspective. They were essentially English and as such, modified by a far different environment as well as political contrasts with the mother country, we read their stories, and with them, see what they saw, think what they thought, and live in their atmosphere.

Unlike them, de Tocqueville was detached: he saw not only the novel, the crude, the barbaric and semi-barbaric in the New World, but interpreted it in terms of past, present and future, and we commend his work to the interested student of our beginnings in the great Northwest, and especially of our own region. While we cannot follow him from his landing in America, we will note his arrival at Detroit and his impressions as he proceeds. He had come thus far to see the frontier wilderness and its people.

"We reached Detroit at three o'clock. It is a little town of between 2,000 and 3,000 inhabitants, founded by the Jesuits in 1710, and still contained many French families...We were now on the frontier of civilization. Still we did not know what course to take. Information was not obtained so easily as might have been expected. To cross an almost impenetrable forest; to swim deep rivers; to encounter pestilential marshes; to sleep exposed to the damp air of the woods; - these are efforts which an American easily conceives, if a dollar is to be gained by them - that is the point, but that a man should take such a journey for curiosity, he cannot understand. Besides, dwelling in a wilderness, he prizes only man's work. He sends you to visit a road, a bridge, a pretty village; but that you should admire large trees, or wild scenery, is to him incomprehensible. We could make no one understand us."

In their difficulties they went to Major Biddle, the Government agent for the sale of wild lands, who readily gave them information they did not want, supposing them to be looking for land to buy, and recommending the region of the St. Joseph River, saying the land was good and villages had started.

"We thanked Major Biddle for his service...and asked him toward which side of the district the current of emigration had, up to the present time, least tended. 'This way,' he said,...toward the north-west. About Pontiac amd its neighborhood, some pretty fair establishments have lately been commenced. But you must not think of fixing yourselves farther off: the country is covered by an almost impenetrable forest, which extends uninteruptedly towards the north-west, full of nothing but wild beasts and Indians. The United States propose to open a way through it immediately, but the road is only just begun and stops at Pontiac.' We again thanked Major Biddle for his good advice, and determined to take it in a contrary sense. We were beside ourselves with joy with the prospect of at length finding a place which the torrent of civilization had not yet invaded."

The next day, the 23rd of July, they hired two horses, bought a compass and some provisions, and set off on horseback with their guns on their shoulders.

De Tocqueville describes the clearings and log-cabins with their makeshifts, and of the master of one dwelling he says: "His sharp muscles and slender limbs, show him at first glance to be a native of New England; his make indicates that he was not born in the desert. His first years were passed in the heart of an intellectual and cultivated society. Choice impelled him to the toilsome and savage life for which he did not seem intended. But if his ph ysical strength seems unequal to the undertaking; on his features, furrowed by care, is seated an expression of cold and persevering energy...This unknown person is the representative of the race to which belongs the future of the New World." He describes the wife, the family and the home and its surroundings. It is in part, a picture of some whose names have already been mentioned, a type of those true pioneers we are to meet. He goes on to say: "We did not reach Pontiac till after sunset. Twenty neat and pretty houses, forming so many well-provided shops, a transparent brook, a clearing of about a square half-mile surrounded by the boundless forest: this is an exact picture of Pontiac, which in twenty years hence may be a city."

There were two inns at the place, and the travelers were taken to the best

one whose owner they soon learned, not only possessed a vast fund of information, but was of remarkable intelligence. With a Frenchman's curiosity, only exceeded by that of a Yankee, among other questions asked their host who had described the trials of illness, the "forest fever" as he called it, de Tocqueville asked: "Do the ministrations of religion ever reach them? The reply was "Very seldom. As yet we have not been able to set up public worship in our forest. Almost every summer, indeed, some Methodist ministers come to visit the new settlements. The news of their arrival spreads rapidly from dwelling to dwelling: it is the great event of the day. At the time fixed, the emigrant with his wife and children, makes his way through the scarcely cleared paths in the forest towards the place of meeting. Settlers flock from fifty miles around. The congregation has no church to assemble in, they meet in the open air under the arches of the forest...You should see the fervent prayers and the deep attention of these men to the solemn words of the preacher. In the wilderness men are seized with a hunger for religion."

On the travelers' intimation that they were on their way to Saginaw their host expressed much surprise; "You want to go to Saginaw! To Saginaw Bay! Two foreign gentlemen, two rational men, want to go to Saginaw Bay! It is scarcely credible." It is not difficult to understand that Saginaw had a very poor reputation, and when the conditions of a very few years previous are remembered, it is not at all strange. Consequently, their host began to speculate on their business, but the travelers maintained a reserve, but were themselves full of questions, asking among other things if their landlord had even been to Saginaw, and were informed that he had been so unlucky as to go there five or six times, but says de Tocqueville, "Our American recovered his presence of mind and the precision of his ideas and explained to us in a few words and with excellent practical good sense how we should set about our journey through the wilderness, entered into the minutest details, and provided for every possible contingency."

The next morning they left Pontiac without having revealed to their host a reason for their journey, and de Tocqueville proceeds: "We had been advised to apply to a Mr. Williams, who, as he had long dealth with the Chippeway Indians, and had a son established at Saginaw, might give us useful information. After riding some miles in the forest...we saw an old man working in a little garden. We spoke to him and found that he was Mr. Williams. (Oliver) He received us with much kindness, and gave us a letter to his son. We asked him if we had anything to fear from the Indian tribes through the territories we were about to pass. Mr. Williams rejected this idea with a sort of indignation. 'No, no,' he said, 'you may proceed without fear. For my part, I sleep more fearlessly among Indians than among white people.' I note this as the first favorable impression given to me of the Indians since my arrival in America." Farther along the trail they met an Indian with whom they were very favorably impressed, and a little later, a white man they at first took for an Indian, an intelligent man who conversed readily with the Indian in his own language, the Chippewa.

The day was waning, and as ill-fortune would have it de Tocqueville's horse dropped a shoe, but not far ahead they met a settler who was able to put it on again. They had nearly reached the end of the clearings, and were five miles from the Flint. Daylight was failing, and the friend in need urged them to hasten, and indeed they were soon in darkness.

"The silence of the forest was so deep, the calm so complete, that the forces of nature seemed paralyzed. No sound was heard but the annoying hum of the mosquitoes and the stamp of our horses' feet. Now and then we saw the distant gleam of a fire, against which we could trace, through the smoke, the sterm and motionless profile of an Indian."

At the end of an hour they reached a place where the paths separated. The moon was just rising, and they could see that one of the paths led to a stream and the other to a clearing in which they saw two houses, so de Tocqueville left his companion in care of the horses while he proceeded on foot to the houses. The clearing was filled with newly-fallen trees, and when he got to the buildings, he found that they

were not yet finished and as yet uninhabited. He went to the edge of the stream which was near, and "whence I could not help admiring for a few minutes the awful grandeur of the scene. The valley seemed a vast amphitheater, surrounded on all sides by the dark woods as if by a black curtain. In its center the moonlight played upon the shattered remains of the forest, creating a thousand fantastic shapes. No sound of any kind, no murmur of life was audible.

At last I remembered my companion, and called loudly to tell him of the result of my search, to advise him cross the rivulet (Thread River) and join me." Getting no reply, he became alarmed, and ran down the stream to a ford. When he got there he heard the sound of horses' feet in the distance, and was soon joined by Beaumont, who had also became worried by the length of his companion's absence, but like him, his shouts had been unheard. They resumed their journey determined not to again separate, and in three-quarters of an hour- "We at last came to a settlement, consisting of two or three huts, and what was still more satisfactory, a light. A violet-colored line of water in the hollow of the valley proved we had arrived at Flint River. Soon indeed, a loud barking echoed in the woods, and we found ourselves close to a log-house, separated from us only by a fence. As we were preparing to climb over it, we saw in the moonlight a great black bear, standing on his hind legs and at the very extremity of his chain, showed as clearly as he could his intention to give us a fraternal embrace.

'What an infernal country this is, 'said I, 'where they keep bears for watch-dogs!' We halloed at the top of our voices and with such success that at last a man appeared at the window. After examining us by the light of the moon: 'Enter, gentlemen,' he said, 'Trink, go to bed! To the kennel I say, they are not robbers.' The bear waddled off and we got in."

They stopped for the night and the next day engaged two Indian guides. At this point we present a picture that is unpleasant to contemplate. de-Tocqueville asked the older Indian, a young man of perhaps eighteen, what his price was, and his reply being in the Indian tongue, the white trader

"immediately informed us that he asked about the equivalent of two dollars. 'As these poor Indians,' charitably added our host, 'do not understand the value of money, you will give the dollars to me, and I will willingly give him what they represent.' I was curious to see what this worthy man considered to be equal to two dollars, and I followed him quietly to the place where the bargain was struck. I saw him give our guide a pair of moccasins and a pocket handkerchief, that certainly did not together amount to half the sum...However, the Indians are not the only dupes of the American pioneers. Every day we were ourselves victims to their extreme cupidity. They are too intelligent to commit any dangerous breach of the law; but I never saw an inn keeper in a large town overcharge so impudently as these tenants of the wilderness, among whom I fancied I should find primitive honesty and patriarchal simplicity." It is quite evident that trader and settler robbed both stranger and Indian with cheerful impartiality.

The following morning with their guides, the younger a boy of twelve or fourteen, they forded the Flint and taking the trail to Saginaw were on the way at an early hour. de Tocqueville called the distance forty miles to Saginaw, but following the shortest trail, was six or seven miles less. He said they had been riding for five hours when their guides stopped, and the elder, tracing a line on the sand, indicated one end as the Flint, the other as Saginaw, marked a point in the middle," he signed to us that we had achieved half the distance, and that we should rest a little." As there was no water in sight, they motioned to the Indians that they wished to halt where they could eat and drink. The young Indian understood their sign-language, and led off for another hour to a water-hole where they halted, but "We opened our bag. Another misfortune! The heat had entirely spoiled our provisions, and we found our dinner reduced to the small piece of bread, which was all we were able to obtain at Flint River." After they had eaten, the Indians made signs that they too, were hungry. They were shown the empty bag, and they shook their heads without speaking. Again they went on their way. "The path soon became more and more difficult to follow. Every moment our horses had to force their way through thick brushwood, or to leap

over the large fallen trees that barred our progress. At the end of an exceedingly toilsome ride we at length reached a stream, which though shallow, was deeply embayed. We waded across it, and from the opposite side we saw a field of maize and two huts that looked like log houses. As we approached we found we were in a little Indian settlement, and that the log-houses were wigwams...When we reached the first of these abandoned dwellings, Saginan-Cuisco, their oldest guide, stopped. He examined attentively everything about him, then laying down his rifle and approaching us, he again traced a line in the sand, and showed them by the same method as before that they had only accomplished two-thirds of the distance. Then he rose and pointing to the sun, signed that it was quickly sinking in the west; next he looked at the wigwam and shut his eyes.

At this point some observations may be made. For many years the author has been deeply interested in the archaeology of the Saginaw Region, and years ago prepared a number of rough drafts of the old Indian trails, village sites and other prehistoric data, and in this work was able to be of some service to the late Dr. Wilbert B. Hinsdale and his Associate, Edward J. Stevens in their great work of preparing an archaeological atlas of Michigan. He had previously read de Tocqueville's work, and endeavored to trace his route from the Flint to the Saginaw, but was puzzled. He had studied and traced the main trail from Flint, and well knew that it very approximately followed the Flint River to a point a little northwest of the center of Taymouth Township, thence almost due north to a ford on the Cass River a half-mile south of the Flint & Pere Marquette Railroad bridge at Bridgeport, to the present Dixie Highway, where it joined a trail running far up the Cass River, and from this junction, westward, and over the present Washington Road to the Saginaw River. This had been the route which it was presumed that de-Tocqueville had followed, but there were many discrepancies; First, it was observed that the first half of the journey was far away from any stream; so much so that they had to drink from a wayside pool. Second, "an exceedingly

toilsome ride of two hours" in which they had to force their way through thickets and over fallen trees, and finally reached a stream that was "deeply embayed" that is, with high banks. Third, at this place, the Indian guide there indicated that they were only two-thirds of the distance to Saginaw, and de Tocqueville says that "Our road for the last two hours had been even more untrodden than at the beginning," and also that no one had told them that they would pass through an Indian village. The solution of the difficulty finally came and is easily explained. The trail they took from the Flint was over the survey of the Military Road which followed in turn, the old Indian trail due north to Pine Run Creek, near which point it branched, one tine of the fork approximately followed the present Dixie Highway to a point a mile or two southeast of Birch Run, from there bearing eastward and striking the Cass River a mile or more eastward of the Bridgeport-Frankenmuth Township line, and they were indeed, only two-thirds of the distance to be covered. What Sagan-Cuisco probably intended to do was to follow the "new trail",-the Military Road, but got off it where it branched southeast of Birch Run. Had he not made the mistake, he would have been about three miles farther west in actual distance, if not farther, and over a considerably better trail.

We may well believe that the young Indians were tired, and justified in wishing to rest for the night, but the white men were hungry, mosquito-bitten and weary, so by giving Sagan-Cuisco a wicker-covered bottle that de Tocqueville carried at his belt which the young man had greatly admired, the latter was induced to continue the journey. The last rays of the sun had disappeared when Sagan was taken with a violent nose-bleed, and a halt was made. It was very evident that both of the guides were exhausted, so it was decided by the two whites to mount them on the horses while they went ahead on foot, for the trail was now easy to follow, for they had evidently arrived at the main trail at Bridgeport.

They pushed on as rapidly as the gathering gloom and their strength permitted and leaving the woods, "entered a vast prairie." Remembering that it was dark, the question might be asked, how did he know? But the answer is obvious; they had left the woods, and the prairie was largely the square mile or so in the present south part of Saginaw, and the trail they were following was the one improved by Campau, and it ran through the edge of the open land.

Continuing, "Our guides uttered three times a savage cry, that vibrated like the discordant notes of the tam-tam. It was answered in the distance. Five minutes afterward we reached a stream; but it was too dark to see the opposite bank."

"The Indians halted here. They wrapped their blankets round them to escape the stings of the mosquitoes;...In a few minutes we heard a faint noise, and something approached the bank. It was an Indian canoe, about ten feet long, formed out of a single tree. The man who was curled up in the bottom of this frail bark wore the dress of and had the appearance of an Indian. He spoke to our guide, who,by his direction, took the saddles from our horses, and placed them in the canoe. As I was preparing to get into it the supposed Indian touched me on the shoulder, and said with a Norman accent which made me start,- 'Ah? You are from old France?...stop-don't be in a hurry-people sometimes get drowned here.'"

"If my horse had addressed me, I should not, I think, have been more astonished. I looked at the speaker, whose face shone in the moonlight like a copper ball. 'Who are you, then?' I said. 'You speak French, but you look like an Indian.' He replied, that he was a 'Bois-Brule'; which means the son of a Canadian and an Indian woman."

"Following the advice of my countryman, the savage, I seated myself in the bottom of the canoe, and kept as steady as possible; my horse, whose bridle I held, plunged into the water, and swam by my side, meanwhile the Canadian sculled the bark, singing in an undertone to an Old French tune some

verses, of which I only caught the first couplet...We reached the opposite bank without any accident; the canoe immediately returned to bring over my companion. All my life I shall remember the second time it neared the shore. The moon, which was full, was just then rising over the prairie behind us, half the disk only appeared over the horizon; it looked like a mysterious door, through which we could catch a glimpse of the light of another world. Its rays were reflected in the stream, and touched the place where I stood. Along the line of their pale, tremulous light, the Indian canoe was advancing. We could not see any sculls, or hear the sound of rowlocks. The bark glided rapidly and smoothly --long, narrow and black, resembling an alligator in pursuit of his prey. Crouching at the bow, Sagan-Cuisco, with his head between his knees, showed only his shiny tresses. Farther back, the Canadian was silently sculling while behind followed Beaumont's horse, with his powerful chest throwing up the waters of the Saginaw in glittering streams. In the whole scene there was a wild grandeur which made an impression upon us which has never been effaced."

"When all had landed, we immediately proceeded to a house that had just become visible in the moonlight about a hundred yards from the river, and which the Canadian assured us would afford us shelter. We contrived, indeed to establish ourselves tolerably, and we should probably have repaired our strength by a sound sleep if we could have got rid of the myriads of mosquitoes that filled the houses but this was impossible." He goes on to describe the torment endured and says: "These insects are the curse of the American wilderness." He never spoke a truer word.

He says that they got up very early to have their first daylight view "of the village of Saginaw." Near us was a house whose character announced the easy circumstances of its owner. It was the one in which we had passed the night." (This was probably the dwelling of Ephraim Williams) "A similar dwelling was at the other extremity of the clearing. Between them, and on the skirts of the woods, two or three log-houses were half hidden in the foliage...On the opposite side of the river we discovered the pointed forms of two or three wigwams which scarcely

stood out of the grass of the prairie." At this late date it is difficult to visualize the scene and harmonize it with de Tocqueville's account but to one who remembers it as late as 1887, recalls that what was then called the "Middle Ground," now a large part of Rust Park, was partly occupied by a couple of sawmills, other buildings, and lumber piles, while much more very low ground, was still not occupied, and was covered with long marsh grass. The somewhat higher ground close to the river, was a favorite camping place long after de Tocqueville's visit, and Norman L. Miller informed the author that he had seen as many as 1,500 Indians camping there when they came to receive their annuities.

Following his early observations, the great Frenchman proceeds to give several pages of philosophical thoughts and observe that

"Thirty persons, men, women, old people and children, at the time of our visit composed this little society, as yet scarcely formed - an opening seed thrown upon the desert, there to germinate."

"Chance, interest or inclination, had collected them in this narrow space. No common link existed between them, and they differed widely. Among them were Canadians, Americans, Indians and half-castes...The inhabitants of this little oasis belong to two nations which for more than a century have occupied the same country and obeyed the same laws. Yet they have nothing in common. They are as distinctly English and French as if they lived on the banks of the Seine and the Thames...Within yonder trellised hut you will find a man whose cordial welcome and open countenance show immediately a taste for social pleasure and careless indifference to life...He wears moccasins, otter-skin cap and a blanket. He is an indefatigable hunter; he sleeps under arms and lives on wild honey and bison's flesh. This man is, nevertheless, still French. He is gay, adverturous, proud of his origin, passionately fond of military glory, more vain than selfish, the creature of impulse rather than judgment, preferring renown to wealth."

"A few steps off lives another European who, exposed to the same

difficulties, has hardened himself against them. This man is cold, unyielding and disputatious. He devotes himself to his land, and submits to savage life only as far as necessary. He is always fighting against it, and every day strips it of some of its attributes. He imports one by one into the desert his laws, his manners and customs, and as much as possible every detail of advanced civilization... Glory is to him an empty name. He is brave, but his bravery is the result of calculation; brave because he has discovered that there are many things more hard to bear than death; though an adventurer, he is surrounded by a family, yet cares little for intellectual or social enjoyments. Encamped on the other side of the river, amid the beds of the Saginaw, the Indian from time to time casts a stoical glance on the habitations of his brothers from Europe. Do not think that he admires their industry or envies their lot."

Without mentioning names, he clearly pictures some of the settlers including the Williams brothers, the Frenchman, the half-breed and the Indian and adds: "The strong lines of demarcation, traced by birth and prejudice, are not confined to the present life. Six different religions or sects, share the faith of this infant colony...Catholicism...the reformed faith, and even the old paganism, all find their disciples. They adore in different ways the One Eternal Being who made man in His own image."

Let us now listen to his words of prophecy, and in their truth, more than a hundred years later, realize that the Prophets did not cease to appear long after Biblical days, and will continue to lift up their voices for ages to come. This French Prophet saw with the "seeing eye," for he had listened with the "listening ear," and wisely judged the future, as did the prophets of old, by the past.

"Here also is solitude, but the imagination, instead of recurring to the past, sprang forward, and lost itself in a boundless future...These are not the more or less probable speculations of philosophy. The facts are as certain as if they had already taken place. In a few years these impenetrable forests will have fallen; the sons of civilization and industry will break the silence of the

Saginaw; its echoes will cease; the banks will be imprisoned by quays; its current, which now flows on unnoticed and tranquil through a nameless waste, will be stemmed by the prows of vessels. More than a hundred miles sever this solitude from the great European settlements; and we were, perhaps, the last travellers allowed to see its primitive grandeur. We asked ourselves, by what singular fate it happened that we, to whom it had been granted to look on the ruins of extinct empires, and tread the deserts made by human hands,-we children of an ancient people, should be called on to witness this scene of a primitive world, and to contemplate the as yet unoccupied cradle of a great nation."

e This wise Frenchman gives us living pictures of the woods, waters and prairies; he goes duck hunting, and explores the tributaries of the Saginaw, and is devoured by mosquitos to such an extent that he has to load his gun running-"it was so painful to stand still for an instant." Of his return on this trip he says: "As we were returning across the prairie we remarked that our Canadian followed a narrow path, and looked very carefully where he placed his feet. 'Why are you so cautious,'I said, 'are you afraid of the damp?' 'No, 'he replied, 'but when I walk in the prairie I have acquired the habit of always looking at my feet lest I should tread on a rattlesnake.' 'Diable,' I exclaimed, with a start, 'are there any rattlesnakes here?' 'Oh yes, indeed!' answered my American Norman with perfect indifference, 'the place is full of them.' I found fault with him for not telling me sooner; he declared that as we were well shod, and the rattlesnake never bites above the heel, he did not think we were in any great danger."

The two travellers left Saginaw on July 29, and de Tocqueville says that "at five A.M. we recrossed the Saginaw. We received the farewell and last advice of our host, and turning our horses' heads, found ourselves alone in the forest." They had resolved to return without a guide seemingly for two reasons. First, every Indian from the neighborhood of Saginaw had gone to receive presents from the English, and no guide could be obtained, and further as he

said, "In general, there is but one path through these vast wildernesses; if you do not lose sight of it, you can reach your journey's end." Quite true with some exceptions as they soon found, for after pursuing their journey for some time, they reached a deserted wigwam on the Cass where they had breakfast. A careful reading along with a local knowledge of the geography of the territory, makes this morning stop near the ford above Bridgeport.

"On leaving the wigwam, we found several paths. We had been told which to take, but such directions are not always full or precise. We had been told of two paths; there were three. It is true that of these roads, two, farther on, joined together in one; but of this we were not aware, and our perplexity was great."

A glance at the archaeological atlas shows their situation. There were three branches; the first, a rather obscure one, followed up the south bank of the Cass: the second went almost due southward along the ridge about the line of the Flint & Pere Marquette Railroad, and was probably the one they took. The third was the main trail to the Flint, undoubtedly the one their directions gave, and this after leaving the ford, turned sharply to the right for a little distance, thence nearly straight southward, and where it turned it divided as noted.

"After due examination and discussion, we could think of nothing better than to throw the bridle on our horses' necks to leave them to solve the difficulty. In this way we forded the river as well as we could, and were carried rapidly in a southwesterly direction." Here we find some confusion which may be due to different causes. At Bridgeport proper, there were but two trails - the one running up the Cass along its north side, the other, which branched abruptly from it a half-mile from the railroad eastward, and crossing the lowlands on a southwesterly direction to the ford, with the <u>three</u> forks beyond as described. Our traveller tells us in brief, of the path becoming nearly invisible in the brushwood, and in other places appeared untravelled, so that they

could hardly believe that it led to anything more than an abandoned wigwam, but "our compass indeed showed that we were proceeding in the right direction, (southeast) yet we were not completely reassured till we reached the spot where we had dined three days before." In this last sentence we have some revelations. First, that they had again lost their way, and second, that their account makes it possible trace their route. The "southeasterly course along a little-used trail brought them to a point perhaps two miles east or southeast of the present Birch Run Village, and to the "gigantic pine", marking the place of their dinner of bread and water. They hurried on their way much relieved, and "as night was coming on, we came in sight of the river Flint; half an hour later we were at the door of our house. This time the bear received us as old friends, and rose upon his hind legs to greet our happy return."

In quoting at some length, as well as in part reviewing this remarkable chapter, we have endeavored to bring out several points; first, the pioneer as he appeared to an educated, understanding Frenchman: second, a picture of the wildness and novelty of the scene to him: third, some characteristics of the people he met, and fourth, the perils of the wilderness-getting lost, possible drowning, venemous serpents and Indians. As to the last, the travellers found no danger, but as to the others, the danger was ever present.

In de Tocqueville we see the seer, the philosopher and the prophet, interested, questioning all he meets, but himself non-commital. All is new, novel and strange, but his interpretations are crystal clear. His great understanding of humanity, his broad tolerance and his vision of the future will remain as a monument to his extremely rare combination of qualities and virtues.

What of Cole? Perhaps a mental equal of the great Frenchman: a more accurate relator of the events of the moment. At times he shows a fine appreciation of the beauty of the scenery: great pines and great oaks are admired. He is essentially English with several generations of America behind him; he has lost several of his English traits, and gained new ones of more or less value. There has been unknown to him, something from the Red Man of priceless

value. It is an adaptability to conditions, an unrealized love of Nature and her works that we in our crowded cities are fast losing. Where will it end? What of Ninevah, of Babylon, of Tyre? Aye, what of Greece and Rome? What is the answer?

The close of de Tocqueville's relation leaves him at the Flint, and here too, we will leave him with his parting words.

"During the whole day we had not met a single human face; the animals too, had disappeared. No doubt they had retired from the heat. All that we saw and that at rare intervals, was now and then, on the bare top of a withered tree, a solitary hawk standing motionless on one leg, and sleeping quietly in the sun, as if cut out of the wood on which he was resting."

In this absolute solitude, our thoughts suddenly recurred to the revolution of 1830, the first anniversary of which fell on this day. I cannot describe the violence with which the recollection of the 29th of July seized my mind. The cries and the smoke of battle, the booming of the cannon, the rattle of musketry; the still more awful peal of the tocsin; that whole day enveloped in its flaming atmosphere, seemed suddenly to rise out of the past, and become a living picture before my eyes. It was as instantaneous as it was vivid, fleeting as a dream; for when I lifted my head, and looked round me, the vision disappeared. But the silence of the forest had never struck me as so frigid, the shadows as so black, or the solitude so absolute."

CHAPTER V.
The Pioneers

We have headed this chapter "The Pioneer" and the genuine pioneer was one of the great forces in building our Commonwealth. The pioneer of the Saginaw Region was not a man fleeing from the law but sometimes was leaving behind him hard conditions, a meager living and little hope for better things, but often was a man of considerable financial substance, or if not so, had a strong ambition, and a foresight that enabled him to break the wilderness, whether forest or prairie, plain or mountain, and conquer the difficulties that lay before him.

The term PIONEER should not be used to designate what one writer has aptly called "the tattered fringe on the skirts of society" that made up a considerable part of the "emigrants" that crossed the Mississippi, and mostly gave us the "bad man" of the dime novel and its successor, the moving picture, as well as the actualities of the highwaymen, murder and miscellaneous criminals that infested the West who were largely instrumental in causing the Indian wars, and at times, were shot by sheriffs or hanged by vigilance committees or others when their crimes became intolerable, and called for their extermination. They "pioneered" in criminal activities only. The day of the automobile was in the distant future, and its means of quick escape after crime and outrage was not available: consequently, if not imprisoned or hanged as merited, he got out of the country as best he could, and his marauding or murder ceased in his home country, but he took it with him, and perhaps gloried in some such title as one of the various "Bills," "Joes," "Jacks" or "Petes." Of this breed, the Saginaw Region had so few that not one can be recalled by name without some mental effort.

Pioneering never ceases, for aside from the Land Pioneer, there are those of invention and discovery, but as we are not dealing them in this chapter, we must make an arbitrary distinction. There are certain First Things, and the first ferry across the Saginaw River is of greater moment to us than the first sewing machine in Saginaw City, so those who laid the foundations of our State and county may be classed as pioneers, while those who raised the superstructure may be called builders. By a little stretch of analogy, we may call the last settlers, for as a class, they were permanent: the pioneer cleared the way for them and they carried on.

Among the pioneers of the period we find the names of Albert Miller, William R. McCormick, Eleazer Jewett and his wife, the sister of Albert Miller, and from them and Ephriam Williams, as well as other first-hand sources, we have been able to pass in review the more important events from 1828 to 1837 or 1838.

From time to time, valuable documents and records come to light, such as the official record of the license to marry of Henri Campau and Madeline Masho, daughter of Louis Masho which was exhibited at the First Historical Exhibit of the Saginaw Art Museum in the spring of 1948, or a water-color of Saginaw, drawn in 1836 by Captain John Farley, showing every building in Saginaw City at that date, which was found about forty-five years ago in an old book by the author. While these finds have a great value, the written or printed accounts of those who took part in the pioneer days are also priceless to the historian.

Eleazer Jewett came to Saginaw in 1826, and at that date the prairie and woodlands forming what is now the entire south part of the Nineteenth Ward of the city, was the Indian Center, and the trail from Detroit came to the very head of the Saginaw River at that point. There was a great natural clearing or open prairie, so it was a logical place for a "station" on the longest Indian trail in Michigan, that from Detroit to Mackinaw, for here from time immemorial, the Indians had dwelt, had gradually formed the two great burial mounds, held their annual Corn Feast and other tribal gatherings, and it was here, near the river-crossing, that Jewett built a log house the year he arrived.

We have seen that there was bitter rivalry between the Indian traders. Reaume the Frenchman had become the agent of the American Fur Company, while Louis Campau was running an independent business, and both had stations at the Little Forks (Midland), and the animosity had so increased that personal encounters had occurred. Louis Campau removed to Grand Rapids in 1826, and was succeeded by Antoine Campau, who carried on the business. The state of affairs was very unsatisfactory to the American Fur Company, and Reaume was removed and the same year, 1826, Jewett was named as their agent, and continued as such until 1828, when Campau and Reaume were both bought out by the Williams brothers.

Louis Campau bought a large tract of land in the very heart of Grand Rapids, now worth millions of dollars, and became the temporal father of that city, but owing to his great liberality and readiness to aid others, endorsing

their paper and assuming obligations not his own through his goodness of heart, he became greatly reduced in circumstances. It is heart-warming to know that in his latter days, the citizens of Grand Rapids, a highly prosperous place, presented him with a purse of over a thousand dollars as a token of the affection and respect that had been created for him.

Eleazer Jewett was energetic and resourceful and from the first was an outstanding pioneer. By act of the Territorial Legislature of July 14, 1830, he established the first ferry across the Saginaw River that could carry a horse at the crossing of the Detroit-Mackinaw Trail, and was the first deputy surveyor of what later became Saginaw Township - a part of Oakland County - and surveyed the first road in Saginaw County, aside from the Military Road from Detroit. It was called "The Tittabawassee Road," the work being done early in 1832. The record shows that this road "extended a distance of 11 miles and 9.57 chains from a point near the corners of sections Nos. 23,24,25 and 26, township 12 north, range 4 east, to a point one chain east of the east bank of the Tittabawassee in section 2, township 12 north, range 3 east." Interpreted, we find the route as follows: beginning at or near the site of the Cass Treaty, it followed the higher grounds to some point on the present Michigan Avenue between its beginning at the treaty site and the fort, thence southward to where the trail turned westward along the Grand River Trail. Prior to the platting of a large part of the Nineteenth Ward by the Saginaw Improvement Company in 1890, Michigan Avenue, from the center of Section Thirty-four, near the corner of Grout and Arthur Streets, continued along the Grand River Trail northwestward over the summit of what was formerly called "Sand Hill," later the site of the Saginaw Plate Glass Company's works, and continuing to the west line of the section, and crossing the present West Michigan Road three-quarters of a mile west of the city limits, and onward, following the Indian trail up the Tittabawassee River to the extreme northwest corner of Section Two in Saginaw Township at the line of Tittabawassee Township. Later at this point, a ferry was established, and it was here that Jewett's survey ended. His next road

surveyed was from his ferry to the fort, but we have found the data complicated, and it no longer exists will not record it, but another short piece of road is of interest, for it made official the one Campau had improved for General Cass. The survey began at a point on the Military Road some distance south of the present city litits, and now makes a part of Washington Avenue to Fordney, thence along Fordney "to a point on the east bank of the river in a line with the road, which runs between the houses of the Williams Brothers." This was in 1833.

To his log house, late in 1831, Jewett brought his bride, Azuhah L.Miller sister of Albert Miller, and later, this primitive dwelling was replaced by a frame building, which in 1837, was moved down on the ice to Water Street to the near vicinity of Campau's block-house, and with additions, it became Jewett's Tavern. The author has many times looked over the remains of the first framed dwelling at its original location, and in its close vicinity, has collected many Indian artifacts and potsherds in proximity to the white man's potsherds that remained from broken dishes that were cast out of the Jewett home so long ago.

At the meeting of the Pioneer Society of June 14, 1883, a paper by Mrs. Jewett was read, a classic of pioneer life. In the closing paragraph she says: "I was one of twenty-six inhabitants that lived in Saginaw,...am now in my seventh-eight year, living with my only daughter, the first white child born in Saginaw. She is the wife of Doctor N.D. Lee. My husband has been dead seven years." In 1888, at the solicitation of friends, Mrs. Jewett prepared a sketch of her life, and in it she corrects the statement made as to her daughter being the first white female child born in Saginaw "except one born when the United States troops occupied the fort at Saginaw." We would like to copy Mrs. Jewett's story of her trip by boat to Saginaw from Flint after her wedding, but later several such accounts will be presented of pioneer travel in which the conditions and circumstances will be noted.

Pioneer life was hard, especially for the wives, many of whom had come from Eastern homes where comfort was theirs. New Nork, Vermont, Maine, and New

Hampshire contributed a class of people who had known many of the refinements of life, but almost without an exception, those women were of the same spirit as their husbands and fathers, and assumed their duties with high courage and resolution.

Among the earliest chroniclers we find the names of several well-known in the history of the Saginaw Region, and it is from these first-hand sources that we are able to pass in review the most important events from 1828 to 1838.

We have seen that de Tocqueville found a total of thirty persons at Saginaw, but at the United States Census of the preceding year, 1830, there were only twenty-eight enumerated as "white persons," and Judge Albert Miller says of them, "There were counted some of a very dark complexion and of a doubtful origin to get that number." At the Flint River, (Flint)seventy were counted, making less than a hundred from the Flint River to Mackinaw Strait.

It will be seen from the account of Mrs. Jewett that at the time of her arrival at Saginaw, the same year of de Tocqueville's visit, only a handful of whites were in what is now Saginaw, and this includes those at "Green Point," and during the next two years a considerable number arrived, among them Albert Miller, later Probate Judge of Saginaw County. He, with his mother and sister, later the wife of Jewett, had removed from Hartland, Vermont, in 1830,locating at Grand Blanc, when he removed to Saginaw, for the time being, near Jewett's log cabin. In his accounts of events around that time, he states that there were perhaps a hundred people in what is now Saginaw County, more than three times that of 1831. Among them, there were a dozen heads of families or bachelors who had settled on the Tittabawassee River as far up as the present line between Saginaw and Tittabawassee Townships, some of them on the west side of the stream. There were familiar names among them-Foster, McLellan, McLean, Benson, McCarty, Crane and a few others. In the settlement at Saginaw proper, were the Williams Brothers, Gardner and Ephraim, andHenry Campau, a younger brother of Louis, who had remained in Saginaw, marrying Madeline Masho, and

later locating on the Cass River on its south bank, and just east of the town line between Bridgeport and Frankenmuth, on land entered by the American Fur Company. The slight remains of his cabin with a few broken dishes, an odd old jack-knife, etc., was definitely located years ago by the author. Campau did not remain at this place very long, for he deserted his small log house there, and crossing the river, built a larger dwelling, which in turn, gave way to the substantial frame house now standing on the third terrace about the river, both of the houses being on Outlots One and Two, adjoining on the east the first of the three Indian Reservations on the Cass River. He raised a numerous family of children, some twenty-five in number, part of them by his half-Indian wife, and following her decease, he married a German girl of the Frankenmuth settlement. Many of his descendants of both lines live in the City of Saginaw and in Frankenmuth Township. He himself, his first wife, his father, father-in-law, Masho, and others of the family lie in the little cemetery on the farm, while his second wife is buried in St. Lorenz Cemetery at Frankenmuth.

Among the settlers on the Tittabawassee, Asa Whitney came in 1826, who with Jewett, wintered that season in Whitney's cabin, and in the following spring, 1827, was drowned near his dwelling. Stephen Benson, of Avon, Livingston County, New York, came to Saginaw in 1830, and located in Thomas Township in the Northwest Quarter of Section Three, and in 1836, John Benson took up land in the same quarter-section. In 1831, Obadiah Crane, ancestor of the well-known Crane family of lawyers and doctors, settled in the extreme northwest corner of Section Two, Saginaw Township, at the terminus of the Jewett survey of the "Tittabawassee Road," just east of the deep ravine now largely filled by the Midland Road grading. There in a block-house, the late William A. Crane, father of Judge Riley L. Crane and several brothers and sisters, was born in 1835. The homes of the Bensons and Cranes were the outposts of civilization in Saginaw County, and aside from each other, the only playmates of the children were the Indian boys and girls of the near vicinity. Of other settlers on the Tittabawassee, Judge Miller says that "John Brown, Scotch, with his son Edward, came in the fall of 1833, and built a log house on the banks of the

TittabaWassee two miles above Green Point. This was near the old Merrill Bridge. We find also that Nathaniel Foster was living in the vicinity of Jewett's place. Judge Miller relates that in May, 1834, "Charles A. Lull and Party, Father and Mother and several others, and Phineas Spaulding came. They drove through from Flint in an ox-cart, which was the first wheeled vehicle I knew of passing over the old trail. (Military Road) Charles A. Lull and Phineas Spaulding built log houses on their respective farms, which were the first houses in SaginaW County built away from the banks of a river."

It seems that Albert Miller was an energetic young man, and in the fall of 1831, we find him along with John Todd and Phineas Thompson employed to build bridges and clear the road of fallen timber to make it passable for sleighs between Flint and SaginaW the coming winter, for the road was still impassable for wagons, and remained so for several years. All other "roads" were the Indian trails, except of course, the rivers, where the canoe or boat were the means of transportation. This same year, 1831, the TowNship of SaginaW was organized, and it comprised no less than fourteen present counties of the State, SaginaW County alone forming a toWNship of the immense county*.

Mr. Miller had arrived at Grand Blanc late in 1830. At that date he was not yet twenty-one, but it would seem that he and his mother were possessed of considerable means, for they had a farm at Grand Blanc where the mother and sister had arrived, and where all remained until 1833, when they removed to the Jewett location.

Miller says: "After selling my farm at Grand Blanc, in the fall of 1832, I went to SaginaW to make preparations to move there on the first run of sleighing. I purchased some land on the east side of the SaginaW River, at that point where it is formed by the junctions of the TittabaWassee and ShiaWassee Rivers, considering that to be the head of navigation on the SaginaW River."

*See Appendix

He prepared to build a block-house on this land, and for that purpose, in the autumn of 1832, so as to secure the necessary timber, he went to a pine woods, "opposite side of the TittabaWassee from Brown's farm" which was on the southside of the river, and there "after having prepared a sufficient amount for the construction of my house, a circumstance transpired that changed my plan of building, which I will relate as the History of the First Raft that ever floated on Waters Tributary to the SaginaW River."

Mr. JeWett had gone to Detroit, and about the time he was expected home, a man came on horseback from Flint saying that when he left, JeWett was there and about to start for SaginaW by river, using a canoe, so that he could be expected in two days, "but after a week had passed and no tidings of him came, We became very much alarmed at his great delay." In company with some Indians then at SaginaW who lived near the FloodWoods on the Flint, (Mang-ga-moosh's village) with
Miller went up the ShiaWassee and Flint/them staying part of the night in one of their WigWams, and under the guidance of a young Indian, proceeded up the river and fortunately met JeWett with two helpers from Flint bringing down a raft of saWed lumber. Miller got on the raft, and the Flint men went ashore to return to that place. It seems that after Mr. JeWett had seen Mr. Simpson at Flint, he had bought a lot of saWed lumber at a mill on the Thread Creek, hauled it across to the Flint where he had built a raft. They were stopped at the FloodWoods, and leaving their raft, hurried on to SaginaW. Miller bought part of this lumber which was taken out of the river and piled on the bank and the following winter was hauled down on the ice to Where it Was used.

During the Winter a rough cabin Was built from it, near the JeWett house and after sufficient snoW fell, the Miller family's belongings Were loaded on two sleds, each drawn by a yoke of oxen, "With their coWs and hogs driven behind the loads. Young Miller Was accompanied by his brother-in-laW and another man, While his mother and a sister preceded them in a sleigh.

Their route was over the Military Road, not yet passable for wagons, while sleds, narrower, and of greater ease in handling, could twist and turn around obstructions where a wagon would be utterly stranded. It was a hard trip, for it was not until the fourth day that they arrived at Jewett's.

During the winter, Mr. Jewett went to Birmingham and bought a plow at the foundry there which was the only one operating north of Detroit, and Judge Miller goes on to say that on the 27th of March, 1833, they began plowing and by the 23rd of May had thirty acres broken close to their houses, all of which was planted to corn. He says; "We kept down the weeds and grass during the season when it was necessary to do so, and a more promising field of corn I never saw. But alas for the result of our summer's work! Before the corn was fairly in the milk, clouds of blackbirds from the marshes would light on it, and in spite of all our efforts to keep them away, they destroyed nearly the whole crop. The red-wings or rice birds, fed upon it until the (wild) rice was ready for them; and then another variety called crow blackbirds, preyed upon it till it was taken from the field, all our thirty acres of corn which, if allowed to ripen, would have yielded fifty or sixty bushels per acre, we saved only sufficient to fatten forty-seven hundred weight of pork. What we saved was from the butts of the ears that the birds could not get at. We fortunately had a godd stock of hogs, and the pork we made was in demand, some of it being sold to parties in Grand Blanc and packed on horses to that place."

Through the circumstance of buying the sawed lumber, Miller and Jewett concluded to build frame houses instead of block-houses. The square timber hewed in the pinery was rafted down during high water, and the 8x8 timbers were split to 4x8 by pit-sawing, whereof Mr. Miller says "It was then that I first learned the duties of a saw-mill." This "saw-mill" was the primitive device of either digging a pit in the ground or building a staging of the necessary height, on which the log to be sawed was secured. The sawyer then stood on the log with his saw, the pit-man below, and in this manner,

working perpendicularly instead of horizontally as in crosscut sawing, the two men slowly sawed out boards or plank. If much sawing was to be done or if the logs were large a pit was usually used as the labor of getting the timber up on the scaffold was often excessive. For Miller's work it was quite easy, soft pine timbers split with a single cut.

As to the construction of their houses, Miller says: "We procured the services of Nathaniel Foster, a carpenter living near us, to construct each of us the frame of a house,"...using the four-by-eights with which Mr. Foster built two old-fashioned post-and-beam frames, a story and a half high, and 18 feet by 24 and 30 feet respectively, and in the fall they got James Busby, a young mechanic from Detroit to finish them.

At this point we will digress somewhat, to discuss a questioned point as to who was the first male child born in Saginaw. For many years it was accepted that William Williams, son of Gardner D. Williams, was entitled to this honor, his birth-date being March 12, 1834. There is no doubt that the prominence of the Williams family had aided this belief, so that its repetition has fixed it firmly in the minds of people.

The facts are undoubtedly otherwise. The name of NATHANIEL FOSTER above noted, brings to mind that his son, GARDNER W. FOSTER, was born on the banks of the TittabaWassee River, three miles from Saginaw, on March 7, 1831. Long after, when the Cincinnati, Saginaw and Mackinaw Railroad (now the Grand Trunk) was laid out through his property on the Flint River, FOSTER'S, a railroad station and postoffice was named after Gardner W. Foster.

It is also undoubtedly true that ARTEMUS WARD BACON, of an old Saginaw County family, preceded William Williams, as his birth is given on good authority as April 1, 1833.

However, it is probably true that Mr. Williams was the first white child born in SAGINAW, meaning the small settlement that became Saginaw City, for it is the author's recollection that Mr. Bacon, like Mr. Foster, was born on the TittabaWassee River.

We have found no pioneer account of greater interest or clearer understanding than that of Judge Miller, but the limits of this paper only permit extracts and condensations, and the interested reader is referred to Volume VII, of the Pioneer Collections.

Of the Indians Judge Miller says that aside from Mr. Jewett's family, their nearest neighbors was Saw-au-bun's (present O-saw-wa-bon) band of Chippewa Indians. When Mr. Jewett settled among them in 1826, he was adopted as a son by Che-ma-tosh (The Snail), and ever after lived on the most friendly terms with the whole band. When a deer was killed, the white neighbors were presented with a piece of venison; if a bee-tree was found, they received a share of the honey, and also of the maple sugar from the first run of sap. The Indians resided in summer, and raised their corn on the southside of the river, terminating in the long, sharp point, the TRUE Green Point, but after the high water that commenced in 1836," that point has been almost wholly covered by water." In that square mile of land commonly called "The Fitzhugh," or the "Fitzhugh Flats," as late as the year the author came to Saginaw, two or three of the old Indian cornfields there were pointed out to him.

Miller says: "The last burial that took place on the Indian mounds at Green Point-"the reader must note the looseness of the term-"was that of Che-ma-tosh's oldest wife, who was Mrs. Jewett's adopted mother. After that, civilization and high water drove them to some other point to bury their dead."

Of fresh fish, Judge Miller remarks that "fresh fish were a great luxury to new-comers to Saginaw, but so plentiful were they that, after a year or two, they made very little account of them for food," but he also says of sturgeon: "I always considered fresh sturgeon a luxury, and in their season we had a plentiful supply," and he describes their taking by the Indians: "That they woud proceed to the head of the fishing ground at the confluence of the two rivers in two canoes each carrying three persons one in each end to guide it with a paddle, and one in the center holding a small net between the canoes, s eparated the length of the net, and thus float down with the

current. When the net met a sturgeon the net-men would quickly haul on the ropes to imprison him. The canoes would come together, and the fish lifted into one of them, and quickly killed by a blow on the head with a hatchet. They ran from twenty to eighty pounds in weight."

As to snakes, we have seen what de Tocqueville said, and one of the drawbacks of wilderness life was rattlesnakes, or as they were commonly called, massasaugas. Of them Mr. Miller says that he had heard that they would not remain where hogs had a free run, and that from a circumstance he was inclined to believe it. Their hogs ran on the prairie outside of the field they had fenced in. Inside there was a pile of rails on unplowed ground. About mid-summer he wanted to use them, and drove his team along-side to haul them away, but the first rail he took up exposed a rattlesnake and before he had handled half a dozen, he found there were two or three of them for each rail: he quit, "and left the rails for their especial use the balance of the summer. The snakes had taken refuge inside the fence to escape the hogs."

As a summation of the conditions existing in the Saginaw Region, Judge Miller says: "Taking into consideration the abundance of wild game, fish and water fowl, the great fertility of the soul, the kindly disposition of the Indians, and the social enjoyments among the white settlers, I think there was no place in Michigan where pioneer life could be more easily sustained, or better enjoyed, than at Saginaw."

In speaking of the introduction of fruit trees into the region he says that wild plums, crab apples (the wild Indian apple), blackberries, red and black raspberries and strawberries grew in great abundance, in the near vicinity of the settlements, and that cranberries and huckleberries were plentiful in their seasons, while wild grapes grew in great abundance. Of apples, he says that the earliest orchards in the valley were grown from seeds brought from the State of New York. "Asa and Abram Whitney each had an orchard, and I think theirs were the first planted by the pioneers of the valley. They were on the banks of the Tittabawassee Rivern near where Parker's brick yard is now located." A few of these

trees, enormous in size have often been seen by the author. They were on the west bank of the river, just below the State Street Bridge. Another apple tree in its unusual growth deserves mention, more especially as it was one of the "Indian" trees that seem to have been so mysterious to people. It was standing on the Paine Farm, not far west of the Michigan Central Railroad, and had a peculiar formation; it had four or five large trunks proceeding from a single root, and was always a prolific bearer. Of it, Judge Miller says: "One year when owned by the late James Frazer, in pioneer days, it bore one hundred and eleven bushels of choice fruit," and years ago the daughter of a pioneer, really herself entitled to the name, for most of her schoolmates were like herself, children of very early settlers, or young Indians, told the author that for years a certain Indian woman, coming from a long distance, came each year to gather apples from this particular tree which bore choice fruit. As to the "mystery" of the Indian trees, there is no doubt that the seeds were brought from Canada by the Indians and planted so that the famous trees of the Cass Treaty at Carrollton, had no more relation to Jesuit or other missionaries than the fact that their growing was encouraged by them. Of this group of trees,Miller says that they "were the oldest in any of the groups and must have had an uninterrupted growth of more than sixty years before the floods of 1836-7 destroyed them."

We have seen in the preceding pages, the difficulties of land travel, and it remains to relate something of the expedients resorted to by the pioneers in getting to and from Saginaw and Flint, and among those who have contributed valuable information was William R. McCormick, then a ten-year-old boy, son of James McCormick, a native of New York State, who in 1832 had obtained the use of a log cabin near Thread River for the temporary shelter of his family

then at Detroit. William McCormick's notes have fortunately found permanent form in the Pioneer Collections, and as he was observing and of excellent judgment, his papers take as high a rank as any of those of his contemporaries.

Early in July of 1832, his mother with her children set out to join her husband. She had hired a man with a team, and with a one-horse wagon of their own, they started their three days' journey over roads that made walking much easier than riding.

The McCormick family had been in very good circumstances in their home state, where at Albany, they were the possessors of a fine residence and the means to maintain it. Unfortunate endorsements of other people's paper had reduced the family fortune to a very low figure, and to Mrs. McCormick especially the change was a very hard blow. Their residence in the cabin lasted until with the assistance of his older sons, Mr. McCormick had built a more comfortable house on the north bank of the Flint on what is now Saginaw Street. He had bought in what is now the heart of the city, 125 acres at a hundred and twenty-five dollars. After getting his family settled, he turned his attention to getting provisions for the winter, and with another man, went down to Saginaw in a canoe. They were gone ten or twelve days, secured some pork, and on their return camped over-night on the old Indian Field, about seven miles from Bridgeport, and near the center of Taymouth Township. Of this place Mr. McCormick says "My father took a great fancy to this old Indian field, which contained about one hundred and fifty acres WITHOUT A STUMP OR STONE, AND READY FOR THE PLOW...The Indians had left it years before because the grub-worms had destroyed their corn. They, therefore, left the place, and made new cornfields farther up the river. My father sold his place...(at Flint) for six hundred dollars,...We then moved down the river to the Indian field, and arrived at that place the second day." This move seems to have been in the spring of 1833, and Mr. McCormick says their first year's crop was excellent, and the second year they sold a thousand bushels of corn to the American Fur Company to be transported to Lake Superior for the Indians, it being hauled to Saginaw on the ice in the winter.

"The only drawback we had was in converting our grain into flour. A gristmill had been built on the Thread, one and a half miles south of Flint. We had to take our grain in a canoe up the river, to Flint,...then get it drawn to the mill, then back to the river, and then down the river home. It usually took us four days to go to the mill and back, camping out every night, and the hardest kind of work at that. This work always fell on my brother James and myself, for though a boy, I could steer the canoe, and my brother would tow it over the rapids with a rope. Our feet used to get very sore walking in the water so much. When winter came on it was impossible to go to the mill, as there was no road. So in the winter evenings all took turns pounding corn in a mortar made in the end of a log sawed three feet long, with a hole in one end to pound the corn in, similar to what the Indians used in these days."

In 1835, the father went back to Albany, it taking eleven days, which was a quick passage for those times, and when he returned he brought a mill,- "something like an old-fashioned coffee-mill, only five times as large. The hopper would hold about a peck, and it had a handle on each side. This was a great thing in those days, for we could grind a bushel of corn in an hour... This year we had two neighbors, and they used in to come evenings to grind their corn at our mill, which was worth its weight in gold to that little settlement."

Of all of the pioneers who have left records in print of pioneer and later days, none exceeded Ephraim S. Williams in clarity and the faculty of interesting relation, and his reminiscences when an old man indicated an excellent memory and an accuracy of statement that may be recommended to all who attempt historical narrative. Among the noted men of this widespread Williams family, we note Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island; Colonel Ephraim Williams, killed at Lake George in the French and Indian War; General Otho H. Williams in the American army during the Revolution, and Charles K. Williams, Chief Justice of Vermont.

In the fall of 1815, the mother of Ephraim with her eight children, he being the oldest, then thirteen, removed from Concord, Massachusetts, to Detroit, where the father, Major Oliver Williams had been since 1808.

In Ephraim's reminiscences in Vol. VIII., of the Pioneer Collections, he tells of his first visit to Saginaw in the fall of 1822 in company with Rufus and A.C. Stevens, brothers, all on horseback, following the Indian trail. He says: "We found two companies of United States troops in their tents, hard at work building the stockade and their winter quarters. We remained a day and returned...The winter of 1822-3, Colonel John Hamilton, Harvey Williams and myself each took a team and load of provisions and supplies for the troops, Mr. Schuyler Hodges accompanying us to see the country. The soldiers had cut a road through the woods and pine windfalls for a sleigh track. Going out, we put all three teams on each load to draw it across Flint River and up its banks. We slept on the south bank of the Cass River between two large fallen pine trees. In the morning, we were under four or five inches of snow. It snowed all day. We arrived at Saginaw and crossed the river not until after dark, having traveled only about twelve miles. The soldiers took charge of our teams and put them in warm stables and we were ushered into good, warm quarters, and fared sumptuously. We left next afternoon, and slept that night at Cass River where we found a vacant log house. We got our horses into it and with rails we built a big fire in the fireplace and camped for the night. It was a very cold night. Our horses and ourselves suffered severly."

Some years after the Williams Brothers had located at Saginaw, there came a year when cranberries were very high at Detroit and Buffalo, and that season there was an enormous crop of them on the Shiawassee low lands. The brothers owned a small sloop called the "Savage" of about thirty tons burden, and the Williams Brothers told the Indians they would buy all they would bring. "They went to picking and we took the Savage and filled her full in bulk, after filling all our barrels and boxes. I think we had from one thousand five hundred or two thousand bushels...We sold the entire cargo, delivered by the Savage, at two dollars and

fifty cents per bushel." As those were the days of inflation similar to that of the late nineteen-forties, high prices prevailed.

The stories of the trader, the explorer and the pioneer, all blend in the relation of Ephraim Williams: it is a connecting link between each and all.

The impressions of childhood often remain in the mind like a sharply defined photograph, or like a great mountain standing out in relief against a western sky in the early morning. Such were the memories of the late Norman L. Miller, son of the Reverend Hiram L. Miller, whose name as one of the founders of Saginaw and of its first organized church is still revered.

In 1836, the Reverend Miller and his wife, the daughter of Dr. Charles Little of Avon, New York, another of the founding fathers, with little Norman, then four years old, left central New York for Saginaw, and proceeded as far as Flint. They were in company with the father and mother of Thomas Busby, later the publisher of the "Saginaw Valley News," then a young, newly married couple. At Flint, Mr. Miller and Mr. Busby built a boat which they loaded with their trunks and other personal effects and embarked with their wives and the little boy. The boat sat so low in the water that care had to be used to avoid accidents. As it was a two days' journey they stopped for the night at a settler's cabin near an Indian village. As the author recalls it, the settlers name was Farquharson, commonly called "Ferguson" whose place was not far below the Genesee County Line. That night the Indians were having a dance at their neighboring village, and the booming of the drum was long-continued, and to the little boy, it seemed as though he heard it all night. The party evidently made an early start the next morning, for they arrived at Saginaw that night. Mr. Miller said: "It was a lovely spring day, and the river seemed like a mirror, so unruffled was the water. All nature was decked out in her brightest green, and that day is one of my happiest memories." At the Floodwoods, the boat had to be unloaded, the baggage carried around, and the boat transported, so the toil must have been strenuous. Their first night in Saginaw was spent

in the block-house at the northeast corner of Hamilton and Court Streets.

Norman L. Miller grew up with Saginaw, and his experiences were sufficient to make a most interesting volume; tragedy, pathos and comedy-all the phases of life passed in review in his memory, and his ease and clarity of narration equaled any of his contemporaries or earlier writers. As a boy of sixteen years old, he was in the employ of W.L.P. Little at the Red Warehouse and he said that one season around 1848, he had seen in the warehouse twenty thousand dollars worth of fur hanging there awaiting shipment. We may realize the quantity, when we learn the prices paid, such as muskrats, 8 to 10 cents; 'coon, 25 to 50 cents; mink 50 to 75 cents; marten $1 to $1.25; fisher, $1.50; beaver $1 per pound, and Indian-tanned deer-hides, $1 per pound. There were also bear, red fox, lynx and other fur which the Chippewas exchanged for blankets, beads, firewater, powder and other necessities, real or imagined. About every merchant dealt in furs.

The memories of another child, then a seven-year-old girl, Mary Hubbard, later Mrs.Mason Ide, of her coming to Saginaw must close our stories of the pioneers.

In 1835, Mary Hubbard's family, removed from Western New York, by way of Buffalo to Detroit by boat, thence to Saginaw by wagon. The leader of the party was Phineas D. Braley, and consisted of seventeen persons of whom the Hubbards numbered seven. As has before been noted, the road from Flint to Saginaw had been bushed out, and later further improvements had been made, so that it was barely passable by wagons, where previously it was only possible for sleds in winter or a high-axeled ox-cart in summer to get over it, and it has been said that Braley's party was the first to pass through with wagons. Be that as it may, the men of the party had to often use their axes to remove obstructing trees that had fallen, and the whole trip from Detroit to Saginaw took a week or more.

There were so many people that all could not ride at once and even the children who were old enough to walk, took their turns in picking their way toward "The Promised Land." At the Cass River, they found a party of men working on the road, and as good fortune would have it, a large scow had been built by

means of which all were ferried across. Just before reaching the boat, Mrs. Hubbard, who had been walking, fell utterly exhausted; she was a little woman, and was picked up like a child and carried on the scow.

Mrs. Ide in relating the story to the author, recalled that the hickory nuts were falling, and so fixed the time as September or October. In her relation she said: "after leaving the Cass at Bridgeport, the road followed the Indian trail, now the extension along the extension of South Washington Avenue to Mackinaw Street Bridge where there was a scow ferry, by which We crossed to the West side." This was the second chartered ferry, the grant having been made to Williams Brothers in 1833. It has been called the first ferry across the Saginaw River, but it was not, the first having been conducted by Eleazer Jewett, as has been previously related.

Their first night in Saginaw was spent by the women and chiddren in the "Red Store," or as it was sometimes later called, the "Little Red Warehouse" to distinguish it from the "Big Red Warehouse," at the foot of Cleveland Street. Later, both Mr. Braley and Mr. Hubbard located on the TittabaWassee River, the latter building a frame house on the flats at the river-bank. They soon found that they had neighbors, some of whom were at times (to the women) troublesome. The Indians were frequent callers, while bears, deer and wolves were common. One day a big bear which had gained the idea that fresh pork would be an agreeable change of diet, was seen preparing to enter the pigsty which housed several young pigs. The future Mrs. Ide had a brother old enough "to bear arms," and with another boy, sallied out with their guns, and the bear made off in a hurry, unhurt except in his feelings at being disturbed in his proposed feast. Incidents of this kind were of common occurrence, and many were the stories told or adventures related in front of the fireplace or around the "revolving" stove that later became a treasured possession of the family. To those who have never seen one of these curious old stoves, it may be explained that the various pots and pans could be severally brought over the fire by turning the top of the stove which was pivoted to revolve.

It had no oven, the want of which could be supplied with an open iron ring like a bottomless kettle, having suitable covers, which was placed on top of the stove, thus making a portable oven in which the pioneer housewife could bake bread or roast meat. The only example of such a stove that the author recalls seeing, was in an Indian's house near the Indian Church in Taymouth many years ago.

Mrs. Ide said that the first year was one of privation; wheat flour was practically unobtainable, but a settler named Cornelius Wiltse had a handmill for grinding corn, and the scattered neighbors were welcome, to use it. A few years ago, that old hand-mill was resting from its pioneer labors in a corncrib in Thomas or Saginaw Township.

The Indians were very often passing up or down the river either in their canoes or along the trail, and the women and children sometimes stood in mortal fear of them, although they never harmed a soul. They entered the houses without knocking or otherwise announcing their presence, their moccasined feet making no sound, and their movements were as stealthy as those of a panther. Often the sound of the drum was heard and the wild music of Indian song. Many of them had remarkably rich voices, and the echoes of their wierd songs awoke strange thrills in the little white girl who had never before seen the Men of the Forest in their own retreats.

It was while they were living at this place that smallpox devestated the Chippewas, and Mrs. Ide related that her mother, who had had the disease would place food on a paddle, and hand it to the distressed Indians, for she feared that her children might contract the loathsome plague while her heart went out to the helpless sufferers. It was said that when one of them died, he was immediately left as he lay, abandoned to the wolves. It seems that this was in 1837, for that was the year that smallpox was most virulent and fatal. In this connection, and old settler William Blower, who at one time lived in a little log house on the river on the west side of the road to the now abandoned Merrill Bridge, said that he had seen as many as seventeen or eighteen bodies of dead Indians lying along the

river bank where they had been abandoned by friends and families in their terror.

A few years after this, Mr. Hubbard was flooded out, losing pigs, chickens and a horse, so finding he had made a mistake in his location, he moved to a better one.

In her young womanhood, Mrs. Ide taught school for several years, her first school being located on the side of the Owen Cemetery in Thomas Township.

It would be possible to relate many more incidents of pioneer life, either related to the author by some who participated in it, or from the printed page, or from manuscripts that have long been treasured by the descendants of some who lived the life of the period. Their names are many, and we have only selected a few to tell the story of the many.

As the settlement at Saginaw grew, and more people took up lands, there arose some demand for sawed lumber, and in 1834, Harvey Williams, with Gardner D., and Ephriam S. Williams built one of the improved "up and down" sawmills, called a "mulay," which would cut about fifteen hundred feet of inch boards in a ten-hour day, and it was a vast improvement on Judge Miller's pit-saw product, both in quantity and quality. This mill stood near the river bank east of Niagara Streets, and about two hundred feet south of the southerly line of Mackinaw Street, on the ground where the south end of the present Brand & Hardin Mill buildings stand. The engine was an old one taken from the dismanteled steamboat "Walk-in-the-Water." Harvey Williams, a cousin of the other two, was a practical blacksmith, and with Joel L. Day, a millwright, later of Bay City, built this mill which operated very successfully. The demand for corn meal being so great, a small pair of millstones were added later, but it was many years before any equipment for making wheat or rye flour was provided in Saginaw, although wheat at least, was milled into a product which was the forerunner of the present whole-wheat of the present bakers, or the old time Graham bread. The first mill was burned some years later, and was replaced by a better one near the same site, which in due time

gave place to "The Williams Mill," owned and operated by the three sons of Gardner D. Williams, George, Stewart and William, a first-class mill of the type of the eighteen-eighties and nineties.

The day of the Saginaw Pioneer was drawing to its close. He had done his work, - had demonstrated the advantages, laid open the forests; his water-craft from schooner to canoe, had traversed its water, and now the lands awaited the SETTLER, but there was to be an interlude, with great losses and hard adjustments.

CHAPTER VI
FOLLY AND ITS FRUIT

The middle eighteen-thirties witnessed the beginning of a wild speculation coupled with a feverish activity in the Middle West, and perhaps more especially in Michigan that is in part comparable with the ridiculously high wages and incomes, monumental taxes and unprecedented expenditures by the General Government, most of the States and a great majority of the municipalities of our country. Machinery does our work with one result, it being extremely short hours of work, thus giving to a vast army of workers instead a third of their time for rest and refreshment, about half, which in far too many instances is an unmitigated curse instead of a benefit, for the very simple reason that they have not learned how to use their leisure, but have acquired great proficiency in abusing it.

From the beginning of written history, certain phases of men's activities have produced results that only reflected the folly of past generations. Customs have changed; laws have changed; methods have changed, but unfortunately, men have not essentially changed, and each generation has to learn by hard experience what preceding generations learned in the same hard school, for it seems that the vast majority of people are incapable of profiting by the knowledge gained by those who have gone before them. There have been great gains in machines, but sad to say, the ethical gains are comparatively negligible.

The Biblical Prophets had their day and went their way, but that does not mean that the Jeremiahs and Ezekiels have had re-birth, and like their originals. aye, even the Master himself, in his own town was impelled to say "The Prophet

is not without honor, save in his own country."

So in our own days we have prophets, both real and spurious, and the latter are far more apt to have listeners and followers than the genuine. "They are puffed up with their own conceit," and we may well add, vanity, hunger for place, power or profit,-some reaching out for all. A few are honest and sincere, but are sadly deluded. They are neither John Browns or John Brights, lacking the unswerving courage and devotion to a principle of the first, and the far-reaching love of humanity and magnificent common-sense of the latter.

Quackery is not confined to medicine, and is especially conspicuous in what is called economics, and economics is so tied up with politics that there are continual compromises which may be likened with the compromises over the slavery abomination,- wrong in principle, and devilish in practice, just as the Fugitive Slave Law was. The period of which we write abounded in economic vagaries, wild speculation and political quackery in a high degree, and comparable with the Greenback lunacy, the Free Silver craze, or later developments in the present century.

In our Saginaw Region the Indian to all intents and purposes, had been practically eliminated, leaving him on pitiful reservations, almost useless to him except as a refuge, but on account of their locations, their fertile soil, and the fact that in a way they were barriers on all the important streams on one or both sides, there arose a demand for their opening, and this demand was met and carried through by plain trickery through a treaty made at Detroit, and signed January 14, 1837, of which something will be said later.

In most of the newly-settled parts of the Northwest Territory, and more especially in Michigan, the very fact of the great possibilities for future comfort and even competence, along with its peculiar geographical situation brought about an unreasoning speculation, and with it, a craze for "internal improvements," especially canals in Michigan, of which several were projected but none built. One of these was to connect Saginaw Bay with Lake Michigan

by Way of the SaginaW, ShiaWassee, Bad, Maple and Grand Rivers most of the canalization being along the South Branch of the Bad and across the very loW summit to the Maple. But a far more pretentious WaterWay Was proposed to connect the south end of Lake Michigan With the West end of Laker Erie, and it Was not so many years ago, that a similar ship canal Was soberly proposed by "economists" as a means of providing "Work" With pick-and-shovel for several score thousands of "Workers," Who Would do but very little Work if they imitated their contemporary "Workers."

Like the present, there Was a monumental inflation. Many banks started: MilWaukee, not yet a dot on the map had one: SaginaW and Flint Were Well-provided With these "financial" institutions, and in the author's possession as Well as in many others, there are many pieces of paper, purporting to be one, five, ten dollars or more, "payable to the bearer," - bank bills Which in those days became knoWn as "Wildcat money," Wild it Was, but not as Wild as those Who took it in payment for Wheat or horse-shoes, When the bubble burst and the "banks" issuing it had "closed" With many of the "bankers" departing in the night "for parts un-knoWn." Later, some of them turned up a long Ways West of the Mississippi. For a time there Was great "prosperity," The SaginaW Bay and Lake Michigan Canal Was actually started, and the portion constructed remains today as a monument to the folly of the project as Well as similar ones. The traveler from St. Charles to Brant Will note just before he crosses the South Branch of the Bad River, a straight stretch of the stream about three- quarters of a mile long on his left, extending southWest. It is the remains of the canal. Over sixty thousand dollars Was spent on it, but the State defaulted in its payments to the contractors. A near-War resulted, for the laborers Were clamorous for their pay, and a riot ensued. Thus ignominiously ended the State's great projects conceived in folly, promoted by irresponsible "economists" and Wild speculation in lands.

In 1835, but more especially in 1836, there Was a rush of prospective settlers to the SaginaW Region, SaginaW County in particular. As at the present time, land values soared to ficticious figures. In SaginaW, the Webster House

a hotel large enough for a town of seven or eight thousand inhabitants, was erected in 1836 at the northwest corner of Michigan and Cleveland Streets. It extended with its great woodsheds back to Fayette Street, and in its day, was one of the most noted hotels in Michigan.

As an index to this presumed prosperity, the land records show that up to 1835, there had been only forty-five land-buyers in what is now Saginaw County: in 1835 there were forty-one, but in 1836 nearly four times as many bought lands in this county,- one hundred and fifty-five, while in 1837, the year of distraction, eighty-eight buyers appeared. In these last two years not less than two-thirds, but more probably over three-quarters of the purchases were purely speculative, and William R. McCormick relates that "in 1836, the country was overrun with persons looking land: in fact, the people had gone land-crazy. My father's house was crowded with land speculators," and he further says that "The next winter (1837) my father sold his crop of corn to Saginaw parties for one dollar and fifty cents a bushel. As usual my brother James and myself drew it down on the ice to Saginaw, and got our pay in bills in the Flint Rapids Bank. A few days after our return home my father started for Flint, and found after his arrival that the Flint Rapids Bank was a wild-cat concern, and had failed a day or two before. Thus all our hard year's labor was gone."

Incidents of this kind might be multiplied indefinitely all over the settled parts of Michigan, to say nothing of the rest of the Middle West. Those hardest hit, however, so far as legitimate investment was concerned, were men like Norman Little, son of Dr. Charles Little of Livingston County, New York. It seems that Dr. Little had visited Saginaw at a very early date, perhaps first in 1822. (See account of J.L. Cole, page) Dr. Little realized that everything pointed to Saginaw becoming a center of trade, commerce and agriculture. His son Norman, with eight or ten others from Western New York, also made a trip to Saginaw, and representing a company of New York men, bought a large acreage including the military reservation,

and spent large sums, for those days, in building up What to him Was the beginnings of a future city, but the crash, culminating in 1838, put a stop to all further enterprise for the time being for the trouble and embarassment that ensued, caused an exodus of the speculators, as Well as many Would-be settlers, and it Was several years before affairs took a favorable turn, and Little's later investments and activities meant much to the future city.

Much distress followed panic, but the actual settlers Who had already broken land and Were raising crops, like the McCormick family, While often meeting more or less heavy losses, Were able to provide the subsistence for themselves and families, for in addition to their crops the plentitude of game, fish, WildfoWl, berries and nuts Were resources that never failed as a Whole. Unlike the present generation, dependence on the contents of tin cans Was a thing of the far future: the simple life Was lived, its hardships toughening the fiber of men and Women, building a courage and resources to meet difficulties, and in time, "to make the Wilderness blossom like the rose."

By 1840, the population of SaginaW had dWindled to about 400 inhabitants and We may Well say that if there Was not "a searching of hearts" there certainly Was one of pocketbooks, for the banks had mostly disappeared and With them the funds.

There Were Wise men in those days - true prophets, but like those of old or of the present day they Were not listened to. The schemes of pseudo-economists, Who solemnly tell us that We can overcome natural laW by fiat or statute, are no Wiser than the speculators of 1836. Water ALWAYS seeks its level, and so Niagara flows on to the sea. In like manner, real values sooner or later arise out of the chaos of political economics that our land is afflicted With. We may erect dams of various kinds to keep prices up, such as umlimited issues of paper money, the sale of government bonds, excessive income taxes in times of peace and What not, to bolster up a false theory of What Government should do for not its people, but its subjects.

The wave of speculation brought another black page of our history. We have noted as an outstanding event, the Treaty of Saginaw in 1819 in which fifteen reservations aggregating 100,000 acres of land for the tribe at large, along with fourteen reservations of 640 acres each to as many individuals, practically all of whom were the half-breed children of white fathers. With the exception of sixteen thousand acres, all of these reservations were on the Saginaw River or its tributaries, and of the exceptions, six thousand acres were on the Kawkawlin, and adjoining the great reservation on the west side of the Saginaw including the west side of Bay City.

The treaty of 1837 at Detroit was signed by a few Indians and in substance amounted to this: the reservations were surrended and "The said tribe agrees to remove from the State of Michigan as soon as a proper location can be obtained, either W. of Lake Superior or at such place W. of the Mississippi and SW of the Missouri river as the legislation of congress may indicate." However, on December 20 of the same year, another treaty was made "On the Flint River" which reads in part," The U.S. agrees to reserve a location for said tribe on the headwaters of the Osage River" with some vague terms but absolutely without further compensation than the Detroit treaty provided, which in the end, really amounted to about nothing. The Indians refused to go to the Osage River: it is safe to say that they really had no idea where it was, so in the year of the 1855 treaty, "By executive order," a tract of land in Isabella County was set aside for them, and "lands in severalty" were granted to the individual Indians and how much land? "To head of a family, eighty acres. To an adult single person past twenty-one years of age, forty acres." A generous Government. It was not long that a white man, head of family or not, could choose for himself 160 acres at $1.25 per acre, and the Indians' individual credits under the various treaties was much more than that figure. In fact, the allotment of lands practically pauperized the Indians as a whole and from all we can learn, the fourteen half-breed reserves fared little better for with the exception of thre three Rileys who had an influential father, they

Were practically swindled out of their patrimony.

We have come to the end of an era in Michigan history, especially of our own Region. Like a man with a hard case of intermittent fever, Michigan was very sick,"but not unto death," but required a long time for cure and convalescence. For several years it marked time and made little progress. In 1837, a newspaper had been started, the Saginaw Journal but like the Saginaw-Grand River Canal, it had died for lack of circulation for nothing was left to circulate. The author once possessed one of its very earliest issues, but it has "mysteriously" disappeared: it was loaned but was never returned or otherwise accounted for, but it is hoped that the borrower has so disposed of it that in time it may reappear, and be preserved as I intended, in some future HISTORICAL MUSEUM in Saginaw.

As we close this chapter and prepare to enter into some account of what may be termed a waiting period, with a slow unfolding as it were of those resources with which we have become acquainted, we offer a few brief thoughts.

History repeats itself over and over, and still the prophet who was without honor in his own country, surveys the ruins and says: "Were ye not warned? Why did ye not listen to the Voice of the Past? Ye thought that ye were wiser in your day and generation than your fathers, and now ye have come to naught."

CHAPTER VII
THE BUILDERS

Like all other panics, that of 1837-38 left Michigan in an enfeebled condition, and in the decade beginning in 1840, we find little of note to record in Saginaw Region History, although some substantial progress was made along certain lines. Men like Norman Little saw far ahead, and although temporarily crippled, they saw as in a vision, a growing city and a prosperous community. It was not perhaps with the same prophetic eye that de Tocqueville saw it, but in a more immediate future in which they would be participants in the building, and sharers in the earnings. Changes were taking place, and new adjustments had

to be made. Eleazer Jewett had moved down to Saginaw proper, and his ferry was abandoned, for the road he had surveyed from the military road to a point opposite the Williams locality, was now the principal crossing. The road from Detroit, the former Military Road, no longer needed for military purposes, had became first, the Territorial Road, and after it had been made fairly passable in 1841, was named, at least from Flint to Saginaw, "The Saginaw Turnpike," which in 1852 was opened to travel in as a toll road, under the name of the "Saginaw and Genesee Plank-Road Company," work having started in December of 1850.

In 1842, another newspaper, the North Star, was started by R.W. Jenny, becoming the second to be born, and die in its immaturity like its predecessor.

The first court house was opened for business in April of 1845. It is of interest to note that it was quite a pretentious building, with great Ionic columns supporting two porches, one facing Washington (Michigan) Avenue, the other facing South Fayette Street. Its cost may seem amazing to present-day Saginaw taxpayers - "$9,510." Even at that figure, it was said at the time "that it cost too much." It served well until the present building was erected in 1884-5. The first floor was largely occupied by a long hall used by the supervisors and for public gatherings, while the court-room was on the second floor, and on both floors there were offices for the few officials then necessary.

Among the chronicles of the decade, we find that Charles W. Grant became the first permanent American settler on the east side of the River in 1849, and the same year the first steamboat was built by Curtis Emerson and others at "the shipyard" on the Emerson Bayou, just south of Bristol Street, and was named "Buena Vista." Another event of 1849 was the starting of a stage mail route between Saginaw and Flint, the mail having been previously carried on horseback.

During the decade, a movement began in Germany that meant much to the Saginaw Region, but more especially to Saginaw County and its near surroundings. There was much unrest in some of the German kingdoms and provinces as well as a vast deal of extreme poverty. In a country church in that part of the kingdom of Bavaria called Franconia, a Lutheran Minister, Johann K.W. Loehe, presided. In a well-written pamphlet written by Theodore Graebner, and published by the Concordia Publishing House at St. Louis, Mo., in 1944, Chapter Two is headed "Heart of Gold: Wilhelm Loehe," and that designation of the man seems singularly appropriate. That he was narrowly sectarian does not detract from his great work, for while it retarded it in some ways, it was a strong moving force in others, and we may say in passing, that sectarianism was definitely characteristic of other demominations of those days, and was a mighty force through its competitive effort. Edward Eggleston, himself once a circuit rider of the Methodist Church, and raised in Southern Indiana, has said that a few Methodist preachers, a handful of Baptish ministers, with an occasional Catholic missionary priest, redeemed that part of our commonwealth from a savage barbarism,-not Indian but White, and probably there was never a truer word spoken. Sectarian they were, and it has been well for our country that it was so. The real essentials of religious effort, an unselfish devotion to aid and sustain others in a better way of life was theirs, and they themselves walked in that way, and all honor to them.

Pastor Loehe not only wished to aid these Germans already in America, but to aid others to immigrate, and also bring Christianity to the Indians, and his efforts in part, bore fruit abundantly. Says Graebner,-"A heart of gold-that was Wilhelm Loehe, whose burning love for his fellow man gave a motor impulse... of thousands for the salvation of souls."

As a consequence, four "colonies" were projected for the Saginaw Region, one on the Cass River,-Frankenmuth,"The Courage of Franconia;" one of Squaconning Creek, near the Saginaw River, Bay County, Frankenlust, "The love of Franconia;" a third, Frankentrost, "The Consolation of Franconia," mostly if not all, in Blumfield Township, Saginaw County, and last, Frankenhelf or Frankenhilf,

"The Help of Franconia," on Cheboyganing Creek in Tuscola County. The present Richville, a flourishing village, is the location of the established in Frankenhelf, which is now a name only, and as applied to the community has been lost, as has been in part, the name Frankentrost, now little more than a memory, although the church, with a large congregation stands on the road from Saginaw to Vassar. Frankenmuth was perpetuated in the name of a village and township, and Frankenlust Township in Bay County, with its church on Highway M47 near the crossing of Squaconning Creek, now usually called "Dutch Creek."

There had been a wise selection of lands by the agents of Loehe, and from the first it may be said that the colonies prospered, although in many instances, through lack of experience, great hardships were met. The missionary effort among the Indians was not as successful and the reasons are not hard to find. The German lacked the adaptibility of the Frenchman in secular life, and the evangelistic zeal of the Methodist or Baptist Missionary. Not only that, there was a bar of language. Michigan like all the States of that day was essentially English so far as speech was concerned, and that fact has been the greatest unifying force in our nation for a common speech not only makes for understanding, but for tolerance and courtesy as well.

There is very little to criticize in Mr. Graebner's excellent little work, but he makes a sad mistake in his references to Methodists and Baptists, and especially in saying of the Methodists in particular that "Their fanatical revivalists created prejudice against Christianity in the minds of Indian savages," for as a matter of fact the only religious societies that continued to exist among the Indians in the Saginaw Region were Methodists, and the pitiful ruin of the Indian Church in Taymouth Township in Saginaw County with its pathetic cemetery, is a monument to the activities of that denomination, and Taymouth is not the only place where the total disappearance of the Indian has still left a memorial of the zeal of the Church of Wesley, and this is also true of some of the Baptist missions in this State which once carried on the work of endeavoring to reclaim the Indian from his hard

condition.

It may be said, however, that the Lutheran Church shows a better appreciation of things than the Methodist, for at St. Louis,Michigan, the site of the former German Mission, BETHANY, has been purchased by some of the Lutheran congregations in Saginaw, made a beauty spot and a lasting memorial to the almost unrequited and unselfish efforts of the missionary, E. Baierlein. As a sad contrast, the little church still standing on the banks of the Flint, in a state of decay, its cemetery grown up to bushes and weeds, with its humble marble memorials of the dead, ALL INDIAN except the white wife and white husband of Indians, some of them, "Soldiers of the Union mustered out,-" neglected, forlorn, aye, even forgotten. We hope to see entirely aside from any denominationalism, that this place, taken care of fenced in and maintained like BETHANY, may become a memorial not only to the perhaps two hundred Indians who lie there, on ground consecrated by the labors of such men as DANIEL WHEATON, the Indian Methodist, or BAIERLEIN the Lutheran.We have written at some length of the German settlements in Saginaw and contiguous counties. They were unique not only in conception but in accomplishment. No other nationality came into the region in the same manner and attempted the same things. "Mr. Dooley" in one of his humorous chapters said: "The German niver laves Germany: he takes it with him." Graebner says: "Pastor Loehe had with all his talent for organization a false conception of life in a free state like the American republic. He had intended his colonies to be parts of the German Reick, and the charter pledged them. Naturally, the colonists soon discovered that such a proposition was absurd, and they became loyal citizens of the State of Michigan. It was more serious, however, that Pastor Loehe also had a notion of church government which made the clergy the ruling power in the Church". Pastor Loehe also complained about "false democratic principles, a result of the foolish notions of popular liberty which were rife in America." Other difficulties arose, but in time harmony prevailed, and at present, the four churches are in excellent condition and are constituent bodies of the Missouri Synod.

Internal disturbances in other parts of Germany also brought about a different immigration from that country a little later, and most of the immigrants were from the middle classes and did not become members of the colonies, but settled in the growing towns of Saginaw and East Saginaw, or along the Tittabawassee River. Among them were physicians and other educated and business men who have left their impress on the communities in which they have resided. In time, they and their sons filled public office and were among the leaders in commercial life.

We are not dealing with nationalities in particular, but there is another people in the development and life of the Region who deserve mention, the French Canadian. Like the rest of the settlers they had their strong points as well as their weak ones, and one strong point was that they never tried to impose their culture on others. Naturally, they associated much together, for almost entirely they came from the peasants of Lower Canada, now Quebec. They were adventurous, brave to the fault at times, hardy and restless. They were natural explorers, but not good colonizers, although in their contacts with the Indians they were so far ahead of the Spaniards of English that there is no comparison. Louis Campau was a typical French Canadian of the higher class, and from that day to the end of lumbering, the Frenchman was very much in evidence. We find him in the woods, on the drives, in the sawmills and lumber yards, and in all these employments, there were none better. His light-heartedness and volatile disposition, along with his adventurous turn, gave us our Paul Bunyan, in many ways a living reality. Saginaw men of the author's age have not forgotten the stories by and about Battise Doe, a real character, superbly witty and supremely comical at times. No other than the Frenchman, unless it was the Indian, was quicker on the floating logs; none more ready of wit or more courageous to rescue a fellow-man when in deadly peril. A very few were farmers, but as time passed and lumbering ceased, we find many of them on the land, while others became merchants, professional men, and like the Germans, office-holders. Although not as numerous as the

Germans in the Saginaw Region, their influence on the life of our State has been very strong, and French names and designations are numerous, and are reminders of the French occupation of Michigan, and the naming of its greatest city, Detroit, "The Strait".

There were certain inherent invaluable qualities in the German and also in the Frenchman, and tempered by the long-rooted American of English stock with his heritage of the Magna Charta, a long and wide background of culture and tradition, and extremely adaptable language with an almost unlimited vocabulary, those of different tongues have been gradually fused in the great body-politic, and Americanism in its best sense, carries all the good and considerable of the evil of the polyglot peoples which have crossed the seas to find new homes in a new world.

CHAPTER VIII
A NEW NAME AND A NEW SETTLEMENT

For more than a decade following the crash of 1838, aside from the German immigration, the Saginaw Region was at a practical standstill, but it was just a "gathering of the forces." Eastern capital became available-Michigan had none and in 1849, Norman Little, acting for Hoyt & Company of New York City, bought from the Detroit Banking Company, into whose hands it had passed from Dr. Charles Little, the original purchaser from the Government, those lands which include most of the present business part of the East Side, and about as far south as the Michigan Central Railroad bridge, and northward to near the Flint and Pere Marquette Railroad tracks. This tract was at once surveyed and platted and appears on the map as the "Hoyt Plat." At that date a single log house on the site of the Bancroft Hotel occupied by a French trapper, Leon Snay, was the only residence on the entire plat. The Genesee Plank-Road was started in 1850*, a mill being erected especially for sawing the plank for it. A new road was opened from the heart of what is now Bridgeport, bending northward from the old Territorial Road thence straight the present Janes Avenue, thence westward to the river. It was laid out on the same liberal width of the former Military, then

*See Appendix

Territorial, and again now to be called by a new name. Over the new road a stage line was started as heretofore noted. Settlers flocked to the new town, which wanted a ferry of its own, so in 1852 the want was supplied by a rather rickety scow "propelled by poles, and attended by a quaint dug-out to escape by in case the scow went to the bottom." The reader will here note the advantage gained by what was to become East Saginaw - a community on the east side of the river with no stream to cross to get to it. Later events added to the advantage and the place soon outstripped Saginaw City as in time the first settlement had been called.

Inseparably connected with East Saginaw appears the name of JESSE HOYT, but it was his brother, ALFRED HOYT, " whose efforts to build up East Saginaw were crowned with success. He was the first postmaster at East Saginaw and in 1852 was elected State Representative, but in 1854, he sold his interest to his brother Jesse, and returned to New York City."

By 1853, East Saginaw had a flouring mill which was erected on the site of the Mayflower Mills, on the river-front, between Fitzhugh and Carroll Streets. In September of that year, two cargos of wheat from Chicago totaling 12,000 bushels were landed at this mill.

Norman Little had permanently located at East Saginaw, his office as president of the Genesee Plank-Road Company was at the corner of Plank Road-now Genesee Avenue-and Water Streets, and his residence built in 1854, was at the northeast corner of Water and Johnson Streets. Later, Water Street north from Tuscola, was the most exclusive residence street in the place, and it was graced by many fine dwellings, on the east side of the street, facing the river.

In 1855, the place was encorporated as a village, and in 1859 it received a city charter with W.L.P. Little as its first mayor.

By 1858, there were foundries and machine shops, blacksmiths, two grist mills making wheat flour, three churches, five doctors, and as now, a surplus of lawyers, one newspaper, the Enterprise, four schools, five volunteer fire

companies, a band, a military company and five or six hotels. There had been some shipbuilding, and W.L.P. Little carried on an extensive wholesale and retail business, and was also Receiver of the U.S. Land Office, with Moses B. Hess, for whom Hess Street was named, as Register. Sawmills were operating but special industries will be treated in separate chapters.

On July 5th, 1854, the first destructive fire in East Saginaw broke out, starting in the kitchen of a hotel, the Irving House, and for that day, the loss was a heavy one-that to W.L.P. Little was $60,000, with an insurance of half of the loss. Only two days before, July 3rd, the first saw mill built on the river, the Williams mill, was burned.

We will now return to Saginw City and the County at large. In the latter part of the eighteen-forties, an influx of settlers came, mostly from New York and Northern New England, some of the latter especially, with much experience in lumbering from the stump to the planed board, and they saw at once the vast resources of pine. This was particularly true of those from Maine, and in looking over the list of prominent lumberman of Saginaw and Bay City, it is surprising to see the number from that State, while Vermont and New York had a fair share with a few from New Hampshire.

In 1850, Saginaw City had half-a-dozen stores, and one sawmill, five carpenter shops, three blacksmith shops and three boot and shoe shops. There were three hotels.

It is hard to realize in this age of machinery that a hundred years ago, practically everything of wood, leather or metal was made by hand, and this was especially true in a new settlement such as the Saginaws. Why were there so many carpenter shops in such a small place? The answer is easy. The carpenter of that day was a real mechanic, while most of the present-day carpenters are merely hammer-and-saw men, with an abbreviation to the saw, for every door, frame, moulding, casing or what not is turned out in a factory, and the "carpenters" merely assemble it, with a few expert enough to hand doors, fit windows or set stairways.

The carpenter of 1850 made his doors, frames, window sash, mouldings. He got out his fine stairways including the newel posts, the hand-rail, the spindles and all that went with them. Some of this fine work is yet to be seen in old Saginaw homes, fashioned from black walnut or cherry. There may also be seen old hand-made doors which still sturdily do full duty without a warp or crack, for they were made of old white pine, and by men who were proud of their skill and happy in their work.

As for the blacksmiths, they too, were often more than craftsmen: they were artists as some of the old hinges and other building hardware attest. They made hoes, animal traps, fish-spears, hatchets, adzes both straight and round, to say nothing of the little humble nail or spike, which at one time were all hand-made. As for boots and shoes, the author's memory runs back to the early and middle eighteen-seventies, when he went to the shoe-shop with his uncle, and several times saw the shoe-maker making a pair of boots, for boots were worn those days,-real boots, with the leg coming up to near the knee. Little boys wore them, but usually at that day, they were made in factories, while the "cobbler" still followed his ancient art and built as well as repaired.

It was during this decade that lumbering began to be a significant element, and we note that in 1854 there were twenty-three sawmills on the Saginaw River,"with a capacity of 60,000,000 feet." Both figures look large,but in 1888, two Saginaw River mills alone actually produced considerably more, and we do not know that the twenty-three really produced their "capacity."

By 1858, the importance of the lumber business was manifest to all, and as a consequence, the rich river valleys and contiguous lands were gaining many settlers, the products of their farms finding a ready market in the rapidly growing cities.

In 1850, the population of Saginaw "village"- it was not incorporated-was given in the United States Census as 536, but from that date it increased rapidly, and one evidence of the gain was that by 1852, three small churches had been

completed, and two more were in process of construction. In early days in the new settlements, the hunger for the consolations of religion were strong where the great part of the people had originated in the oldest parts of the country and a considerable culture existed, and it has been said that much truth, that soon after the log cabin had been built, a Methodist circuit rider appeared, and it was not long before a building was either set aside for worship, or if there were a sufficient number of people, one would be built. With this in mind it might be said that as to Saginaw, that the Rev. Hiram L. Miller sowed the seed of the five churches above mentioned, but we must go back a little farther in history.

It has been said that the Reverend Miller held the first religious services in Saginaw, but this is an error, for in the summer of 1833, the Ohio Methodist Conference sent a young minister by the name of Frazee in an attempt to establish a missionary station among the Indians, and also to furnish preaching service to the handful of whites. Judge Albert Miller, who taught the first school in Saginaw in the blockhouse within the fort, said that Frazee was "well educated, a fluent speaker...but he met with a rather cool reception among the Indians; the traders did not encourage them at all in the matter of having teachers among them, telling them that their business was hunting, not looking at papers, as they express the act of studying."

The next minister that came to the Saginaw Circuit was the Rev. William H. Brockway, "a young man particularly adapted to his work...mingled freely with the people, assisting them in whatever labor they were engaged in. He would rebuke every sinful practice that came to his knowledge, in such a way as to give no offense, thereby gaining the respect of the people and doing much to check the evils of profanity, drunkenness and Sabbath-breaking." Mr. Brockway left Saginaw the year that the Reverend Hiram Miller arrived, and his place was not immediately supplied.

In 1836, Mr. Miller organized the first church society in Saginaw, and for two years continued as its minister as a Presbyterian body, the first church in a vast district, and the parent of the First Presbyterian Church.

He first preached in a carpenter shop on the corner of Michigan Avenue and Ames Street, but their first building dedicated wholly to religious uses was built in 1851-52 on the site of the present First Presbyterian Church. Owing to ill health, a serious throat affection, after two years Mr. Miller resigned from the pastorate, but for many years thereafter, he acted as supply, living to a ripe old age in the enjoyment of the confidence of all who knew him.

In 1850, the nucleus of the present Holy Cross Lutheran Church, built a small building for church services on the corner of Michigan Avenue and Court Street, on the ground where the blockhouse stood inside the fort, and thus ante-dates the First Presbyterian Church.

St. Andrews Catholic Church appears to have been one of the three churches "which had been completed,"for it seems that in 1852, a carpenter shop on South Washington (Michigan) Avenue just south of Adams was bought, and became the first church of the parish. The following year it was moved to the corner of Washington and Monroe, and was used as a church for twelve years.

We have noted that East Saginaw obtained a city charter in 1855, and as Saginaw City was still unincorporated, not to be outdone by its lusty neighbor, it too, applied for and received a city charter Feb. 17, 1857, and became a real city, where before it was a "city" in name only. It had two wards, and its first mayor was very appropriately, GARDNER D. WILLIAMS. He was re-elected in 1858, but dying December 11th of that year, was succeeded by Rev. Hiram L. Miller, City Recorder, for the balance of the term.

By 1859, the city had grown so rapidly that another ward was added. In 1860, the Federal Census reported a population of 1,712 and as the Saginaw Region entered a new decade, one of unprecedented growth and industry, we will turn to a page not only momentous in our nation's history but of high import to a section of our State of which only thirty years before de Tocqueville had

predicted great things and his prophesies had been fulfilled without exception.

III
Chapter IX
A DECADE OF GREAT EVENTS

Between the two young cities on the Saginaw River, a rivalry had developed in which East Saginaw had the advantage of position,-no river to cross. On the other hand, there were some disadvantages of which in part, Saginaw City shared, referring to the bayous that here and there ran through both sections, but to a certain extent, they proved of much value in the locating of sawmills, which needed dock room with a water frontage. The chief disadvantage was the low situation of the business part of East Saginaw, and that persists to this day, for high water puts the merchants on their toes for many of their basements are flooded, and more than once, the water has been above their ground floors.

In 1837, the map of the Currier Plat "of the City of Saginaw" was printed, and it is the present lay-out of blocks, streets and street names, modified by changes in the latter, and one notable change in the streets, for Gratiot, which was laid out as a State Road, does not appear on the plat, it having been opened later- diagonally through the blocks due west, and creating the "flatirons" and clipped corners that are a distress to the architect and a nuisance to the carpenter. On this map we find a plat on the east side of the river, its southern boundary being about the present Holland Avenue and extending eastward from the river nine blocks, and northward twelve blocks. It shows a "shipyard" and "steam mill yard" at the extreme southwest corner of the plat. This plat was later vacated and re-surveyed. As this was on high ground and the land continues well above floods far north, it may not seem clear to the people of a century later why the city was located so far north but they may be assured that men of the type of Norman Little and the Hoyts had good reasons for their choice of lands, one at least was that in that day river frontage was a great asset. Chicago had been little more than a mud-hole, and wet earth was plentiful enough in this region not to cause serious concern. Still, other transportation than water was needed, and

in 1857, a company was organized to build a railroad from Saginaw to Flint, and in January of 1862, it had been completed from the Saginaw River to Mount Morris, 26-½ miles. It was soon extended to Flint and was a very useful adjunct to water transportation for water-bourne goods were cheaply carried to the growing town of Flint and intermediate points, while lumber and shingles manufactured along the line in small mills were brought to Saginaw as a Great Lakes shipping port for transfer to Ohio or other ports.

In the chapter on railroads, other matters pertaining to this pioneer road will be presented. There are those still living that regret the change of name of this road, and would have liked to see it retain its old title, "Flint and Pere Marquette."

In 1860, the first salt well was put into successful operation in what is now the First Ward of Saginaw and very soon a second well was pumping brine. It was seen at once to be the source of a valuable product which could supply a great territory westward, and thus began a great industry.

A historian of the eighteen-sixties says: "The capital of the city (Saginaw City) increased during the three years succeeding 1860 one hundred fold, and the population of the city had doubled." This was also true of East Saginaw, and perhaps to an even greater extent. In 1864, the latter city built a bridge on the site of the present Genesee Avenue structure, and the following year Saginaw City built one at Bristol Street, while the ferry was still continued at Mackinaw Street. The Bristol Street Bridge had two draw-spans, for the Emerson Bayou, now Lake Linton, was navigable water, having a shipyard on the grounds back of the City Hall, and in addition, a sawmill which had shipped out the first cargo of lumber from the Saginaw River.

In 1860, the Bancroft House, named after the historian and statesman, George Bancroft, was built, and in 1866, the Taylor House, now the Fordney Hotel, was erected on part of the site of the old fort. Originally, the grounds now covered by the buildings of the block it is on and across Hamilton Street was considerably higher than at present, in fact, quite a knoll, but when the

fort disappeared, the ground was leveled, and in the work, many Indian artifacts and several skeletons were found. The Taylor House with its large, airy rooms and ample spaces, was in its palmiest days one of the deservedly noted hostelries of Michigan, while the Bancroft had the honor of being included in Dr. Robert Ludy's book "Historic Hotels of the United States," for which the author of this book contributed somewhat in the way of information to Dr. Ludy.

The first half of the eighteen-sixties was momentous. For years the slavery question had not only troubled the minds of humanitarians, but to a certain extent, the idea that slavery was inherently wrong had taken hold of a majority of our entire people, although there were few in the North and practically none at all in the South who were vocal in this opinion except in private. In the South, a great crop of noisy demagogues flourished. Slavery was the corner-stone of cotton, and cotton was the corner-stone of the South. To understand the situation, one must scan the history of the several States that lead on opposite sides, of which Massachusetts and Virginia were excellent types-the first, a democratic Republic in which every freeholder had his say in the unit of government, THE TOWN, and through the Town, the State Legislature, or as it is officially denominated, The General Court. For some years in this colony, there were indentured servants, persons who were working out the expenses of their immigration which had been advanced by men of some means who needed help on their farms, business or households. In general, these servants were really a part of the family for the time, ate at the same table and lived the family life. As a rule, they were necessarily of good character and with ambition, so that many American families of today may be thankful that some of their ancestors were willing to bind their services to their masters for the privilege of equal opportunities in the future.

What was the situation in Virginia? It was completely dominated by what some people have been pleased to call an aristocracy. In Massachusetts properly speaking, there were no classes: the Governor when his term of office expired/returned to the ranks of his fellows who had freely chosen him, not for his

standing in society or favor with the Court and courtiers, but for his presumed qualities for governing. In Virginia the lines were sharply drawn. A "proprietor" could not work with his hands: it was "beneath" him. His servants and laborers did his work under the direction of a class later called overseers. The proprietor, like others, not infrequently exemplified the old saying that "Satan finds mischief for idle hands to do, essentially true of the present five-day-week worker who has not learned how to spend his money or his leisure time, or the wealthy Virginia proprietor whose consumption of old wines and aged whiskey, his horse-racing and gambling, to say nothing of his other diversions and murderous duels, is a close parallel to the almost unbelievable consumption of present-day beer, as well as the various brands of distilled liquors, the drunken driving and thirty-five or forty thousadd murderous automobile killings per year of the present.

It was this false position as to personal labor that accounts in part for American slavery. It has been argued by pro-slavery defenders and apologists that the reason that slavery came into disfavor in the North, and particularly in New England, was that it was not profitable there, but if only casually analyzed, the fallacy of this argument is plain. Practically every New England farmer had a hired man, - some two or three of them. They received board and wages. A Negro slave had no wages, and his "board," measured by Southern standards, represented an exceedingly small amount of money. He could be bought, and in a few years his ownership would be purely gain: why then, should a white man be employed and paid?

The introduction of a race lower in the scale, a completely alian race of the character of the Negro, can never be an elevating influence on the higher race, but just the opposite. This was sensed by the New Englander. Puritan influence was strong and we may well be thankful that it was, and had the Puritan thought controlled instead of the Cavalier, we would have been spared this problem which was "wished" on us by men who were "too proud to work," and too low in their moral conceptions to recognize the utter iniquity of

slavery, and the whole political creed of the south was expressed in a single phrase-hatred of New England, especially of Massachusetts.

Morris Schaff in his fine work, "The Spirit of Old West Point," says: "We of the West, especially those of us with Southern affiliations, hated slavery and hated New England, (un derscoring the author's) but generally sympathized with the South, yet in her arrogance she fast assumed an attitude of condecension and superiority over us all." Schaff was from Central Ohio, and as a graduate of West Point in 1862 , served in the Union Army through the war. At West Point he "had seen a great light," and New England took on a very different color in his mind.

From the first, Michigan was quite largely anti-slavery, although as time passed, those temporizers aptly called "dough-faces," were quite prominent, and men of the Wendell Phillips or William Lloyd Garrison type were not popular with a considerable number of people. Among the place-names in Lower Michigan not too far away from Saginaw we find such as Rochester, Hartland, New Boston, Manchester, Bangor and Bath, just meaning that some Yankee or New Yorker had brought his home-town name with him, and the sentiments of his early training and environment. On the other hand, Democrats were seemingly a majority in the Saginaw Region, although not all by any means, were either dough-faces or pro-slavery, and we may remember that JAMES G. BIRNEY, who was the candidate of the Free Soil Party in 1840, and 1844, a man who had freed his slaves, and finally was an honored resident of Bay City.

War was in the air, for at last sentiment had crystalized in the North. An obscure, unknown to but few, fanatical old man with a lion-like courage, but so carried away with his purpose as to set at naught all perils,-JOHN BROWN, as much a martyr to a glorious cause as ever lived. He rests appropriately in the shadow of a great rock, for he himself was Adamant in his cause. While the people of the North realized the futility of his act so far as immediate results were concerned, they did realize that from the moment that the trap was sprung and his life passed out, SLAVERY WAS DEAD, not yet buried to be sure, but DEAD.

The firing on Fort Sumpter was heard, but louder than the cannon, was a Voice from the Grave, and it said "Rally, rally for my cause for the Day is at hand to wipe this abomination from the face the land." And they did rally.

The Call came and the Saginaw Region responded. Abraham Lincoln's proclamation of April 15, 1861, was followed by one by Governor Blair the following day, and appeared in the Saginaw papers, April 18, and four days later "3,000 citizens of the Saginaws assembled to devise such measures as would correspond with the desires of the general Government, and those of the State. The people massed on Genesee Street, East Saginaw, and were addressed by J.B. Dillingham from a platform erected in front of the Bancroft House."

Colonel W.L.P. Little was chairman, and noted names in Saginaw history, Democrats and Republicans alike, among them John Moore, J.G. Sutherland, William L. Webber, D.A. Pettibone and others were vice-presidents of the meeting. The resolutions adopted were too long for insertion here, but no State Paper of the period the author has perused in superior in language and tone, and none bore fruit more quickly. The East Saginaw Light Guards left Saginaw for Detroit April 30, 1861, and the Hoyt Light Guards perfected their organization April 24, but enough Michigan troops had filled its quota, and the company was not accepted.

The present Bliss Park was the scene of the mustering in of the 29th Michigan Infantry on July 29, 1864, and on grounds west of Washington Ave., in what is now called "The Grove," on September 13, 1862, the 23rd Michigan Infantry was also mustered in.

It is an interesting fact that several men of the four Michigan companies of Berdan's Sharpshooters were from the Saginaw Region, a number of them being Indians. Berdan's Sharpshooters, the First Regiment of ten companies, the Second Regiment of eight. Of the eighteen companies, New York furnished four, Michigan four, Vermont three, New Hampshire three, Maine, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Minnesota one each. They were permitted to furnish their own rifles, or the Government provided them. They had to individually qualify

as expert marksman either with the rifle of their choice or with the Sharp's rifles furnished. They wore a distinctive uniform, and their battle service placed them among the highest in losses. They were in many battles, and their special service was of the highest value. That so little was heard of them was due to the fact that they were practically regulars, for they were enlisted and organized as United States Troops, and the lack of the prestige of a State name and number has obscured their services, but fortunately, we have a very well-written history of these organizations by First-Lieut. Charles A. Stevens of Company "G" First regiment of the Sharpshooters, and some information about the Michigan companies will be found in the Michigan Adjutant-General's reports for the Civil War period.

Four years of bloody strife settled the slavery question by the sword, where if the humanitarian spirit had prevailed in the South as it had in the North, no war would have occurred, but like some other wars, it was a sad necessity. There were a few Robert E. Lees in the South, but unfortunately, there were too many Jefferson Davis's, to say nothing of Forrests, Braggs and South Carolina "Fire-eaters," so that it took two generations to accomplish what a score of years could have done, if the South as a whole, had accepted the situation. Unlike the Prodigal Son, too many of their leaders began to make arrogant demands, or to assume an attitude of sullen resistance which in turn, reacted on all Union people, and at times, brought measures that were not always wise, but which in the nature of things, and the natures of men, could and should be expected. In that period, Michigan had some statesmen, and also a few hang-over copperheads, while Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and New York City had more than enough, and for a time, some of them were blatantly aggressive but with few exceptions they sunk into an ignominious obscurity, and while turn-coats for political place were not unknown, Michigan can have a reasonable pride in its Civil War record.

The newspapers of the War Years of Saginaw record a great deal of "news," such as drownings, the death of Ex-Mayor George W. Bullock by an explosion of a salt vat, June 5, 1861, and other casualties such as that of June 29 of the same year,

when the steamer "Little Eastern" was sunk in a collision with the steamer "Fox" near Saginaw City. On February 1, 1864, a "wildcat", possibly a panther - "seven feet six inches from tip to tip," was killed in the streets of Saginaw City, which reminds the author that Norman Miller said he had seen a wolf pursuing a deer through what is now the heart of the West Side, and that on another occasion, his own dog treed a bear near where the Michigan Central Railroad crosses South Michigan Avenue, which he shot.

As a contrast to the killing of the wildcat, eight days later, Feb. 9, East Saginaw was first lit by gas.

A record for October, 1864, informs us that during that month, 1,147 vessels passed through the bridge at East Saginaw. November 9th of the same year, has this entry: "Big Storm all over county; Saginaw River lowered nearly six feet by the storm;" evidently a south or southwest wind. During that year, the Saginaw Street Railroad was put in operation, its line connecting the business part of Saginaw City with that of East Saginaw, and the same year the East Saginaw Street Railroad was organized.

As might be expected in such "wooden" towns, six or eight destructive fires occurred during the decade, the heaviest loss being in 1865, when a whole block in East Saginaw was destroyed with a loss of $100,000; A.W. Wright's sawmill in Saginaw City, loss $80,000, and the Chicago Salt and Lumber Company plant at Carrollton, with a loss of $20,000.

The Federal Census of 1860 had given Saginaw City a population of 1,699; that of 1870, 7,460. For the same years East Saginaw had 3,001 and 11,350, both cities showing a rapid growth which continued for the decade of 1870-1880, but East Saginaw nearly doubled the population of Saginaw City, having over nineteen thousand inhabitants, while Saginaw City had 10,444.* The gain of the two, aggregating about eleven thousand, may seem surprising in view of the fact that the panic of 1873 with its period of "hard times" covered more than half of the decade. Saginaw was practically a one-product town, although salt, really a by-product; was made in great quantities, and being a necessity, had a continuous sale. The pineries of Maine and New York

had become greatly depleted, and lumber was also a necessity, so we find that the shipment of lumber from the Saginaws and Bay fell off but little from 1870 to 1876, and in 1877, there was a great gain of nearly a hundred million feet over the preceding year, and by 1880 the amount shipped was four-fifths greater than in 1876.

*In the 1840 Census, Detroit had 9,102 inhabitants; Ann Arbor, 3,600; Plymouth 2,163; Grand Rapids, 1,510; Flint 984 and Saginaw, 837. Seventeen places in Michigan had a larger population than Saginaw. By the census of 1940, a hundred years later, only three cities in the State were larger than Saginaw.

All this means that the Saginaw Region did not suffer from the panic as did the agricultural, transportation and general manufacturing sections of the country did. Improvements went on, and in 1870, the plank road between Saginaw and St. Louis was completed. In 1873, the Holly Waterworks just north of the present Court Street Bridge was put in operation and gave great satisfaction, and in the same year, the East Saginaw Waterworks were completed on the site of the present Naval Reserve structures.

Some of the odd or unusual incidents of the period are of passing interest, such as the murder of a man at Chesaning in 1876 by his wife, sister-in-law, her husband and another man. In 1874, the noted trotting horse, "Goldsmith Maid," trotted a mile in 2:16 - a record- at the East Saginaw Driving Park. In 1874, the death of Mrs. Margaret Tallman at East Saginaw at the remarkable age of 114 years, and on Sept. 18 of the same year the death by suicide at the County Poor Farm" of Luke Courville, aged 102 years; oldest man in the county." July 28, 1878, "Completion of free bridge at foot of Johnson Street at East Saginaw; cost about $19,000." In 1879, "H.B. Roney deposited 30,000 California salmon fry in the Cass River; were furnished by Michigan Fish Commission." It is quite evident that none survived. On August third of the same year there was a "Large out-door temperance meeting at East Saginaw; addressed by P.T. Barnum of Circus fame." The author has been informed that "temperance meetings" were nearly as badly needed in 1879 as they are in 1949.

Chapter X
TEN YEARS OF LUMBER

The first five years of the eighteen-eighties saw the peak of the lumber industry in the Saginaw Region, 1882 being the highest year with a shipment one billion feet for the Saginaws and Bay Cities, and although it continued large for some years, the product fell off sharply in the early eighteen-nineties. Up to 1880, farming had been to a great extent, dependent on the lumber industry for the sale of its products so far as the Saginaw Region was concerned, and a high percentage of the land was still covered with hardwood forest or in cut-over lands not yet cleared. As an example, in 1878, less than ten miles from the present city limits of Saginaw, in the southwest corner of Frankenmuth Township on Sections 29, 30, 31 and 33, nine hundred and seventy acres were cleared, and 1,590 acres were still in woods or cut-over land, for the merchantable pine had been cut off, but most of the hardward still stood. Thirty years later these figures would be about 2,000 acres in cultivation, with perhaps six hundred acres of woodland, mostly of second growth. It will be noted that these four sections were susceptible of cultivation almost to the last acre, while in 1878, other great tracts in the Saginaw Region awaited clearing to give fertile soil for use, to say nothing of thousands of acres in those days almost worthless, but are now bearing good crops through intelligent fertilizing, selection of crops with rotation, and in some instances, drainage.

The lumber camps called for great supplies of certain food-stuffs, such as white beans, salt pork and potatoes. Michigan lumbermen in a State now one of the greatest if not the chief producer of white beans, depended on Vermont for its supply, the navy type being the favorite, so the little Green Mountain State not only furnished many of our best settlers, and gave names to a good number of Michigan places, but provided the chief element of BAKED BEANS that went into the first and final Pine Tree Products - LOGS AND SAWED LUMBER.

1881 will be long remembered for the shooting and death of President James A. Garfield, but a few living residents of the "Thumb" of Michigan, -the three counties, Huron, Tuscola and Sanilac, have vivid recollections of a disaster which brought destruction and death - the forest fires of that year. It had been a very dry season, and those great pineries of the Cass River and its tributaries had been largely cut over, although there are still considerable standing pine, thousands of acres of hardwood and much cedar and hemlock. In those days no pine log less than ten inches in diameter at the top was used, and at that it had to be of very good quality or it was rejected. As a consequence, lumbered land was covered with pine limbs and tops, and in many instances scattering pines in a mixed growth were cut, leaving much dry and pitchy fuel to feed a fire, and in addition, quantities of brush and other debris from recent clearings added to the highly combustible material that only needed the touch of a match, the stub of a cigar, or a spark from a chimney to start a forest fire in early September that took at least 169 human lives, thousands of domestic animals, burned whole villages and left much of the three counties a blackened waste. Bax Axe, the county seat of Huron County was swept almost clean except its court house which still stands and in which the people of the village took refuge and were saved from death. It stood in a vacant square, and its material, brick, by the frantic efforts of the men who had gathered there with their families saved it. Fortunately, there was a good well, and although window sash and frames were burned in the fire, there was no loss of life.

The author well recalls that as a boy of fourteen, then living in Gloversville, New York, for a whole week the air was smoky, and on the day that President Garfield died, September 19, he passed the principal hotel in the village,, and the gas lights were lit, as they were in the whole place where gas was used, and in our own home, the kerosene lamps were lighted, for a heavy black pall, like the effect of an eclipse, was over all, and some superstitious persons, not knowing its origin, attributed it to the mourning of Nature over the vile assassination of the Nation's Chief, for it was some days before we realized the truth (no

daily paper) that it was due to the great forest fires in Michigan, the smoke being carried by the prevailing currents of the air as far as New England.

There had been other forest fires in Michigan in the Saginaw Region as well as in other parts of the State. In 1871, the great Chicago fire took up people's minds to such an extent that even the holocaust in Wisconsin was absorbed in the larger story, but we are writing of a part of Michigan, and something of the disastrous events of the year will be told, with the incidental relation that Holland was largely destroyed, Manistee suffered nearly as great a loss, and even Lansing - to quote a sentence from Stewart H. Holbrook's "Burning an Empire,"* was threatened by long-smouldering fires," while in the immediate Saginaw country, in Midland County as well as in Gratiot; in Bay and Saginaw Counties, there were, especially in the first two, heavy losses of property but no loss of human life. In fact, north of the south boundary of Saginaw County the whole Lower Peninsula suffered heavily. In Saginaw County and its cities there was a state of emergency. Smoking on the streets was forbidden-and enforced. The pine-plank sidewalks were tinder-dry, and such streets as Niagara, West Genesee between the M.C. Railroad and the bridge, and also streets almost in the heart of East Saginaw there were great deposits of sawdust which had been used for filling material in low places; there was godd reason for "NO SMOKING!" Fires in the heart of the County took a heavy toll of sawed lumber, standing timber and some small saw and shingle mills as well as dwellings, but the villages and cities escaped. In the Thumb, watered mostly by the Cass, but in part by the Flint, destruction on a large scale prevailed, for on Sunday, October 8th, the whole Huron shore from Grindstone City to Forester was ablaze, and the last named village, along with Richmondville, Forestville, White Rock, Elm Creek, Sand Beach - now called Harbor Beach-and Huron City were destroyed, with much damage to other villages northward, as well as in the interior, and as far south as Port Huron, where the whole town turned out to fight the fires which threatened its destruction. Whole

*The MacMillan Company, New York, 1943.

townships in the Thumb were burned over, and the total area devasted was estimated for that year at over two million acres. While no forest fires got into the Saginaws, the same night the Huron shore was swept, two shingle mills, a sawmill, salt blocks and several houses in Saginaw City, and five buildings in East Saginaw burned.

The loss of life in the Thumb fires was comparatively small, but some of the incidents were heart-breaking in their circumstances, such as the death in their home of two little girls, while the father and mother had gone out to fight the fire, and were utterly unable to go to their rescue. The total deaths were reckoned at fifteen.

The name "White Rock," brings to mind some interesting incidents of Michigan history, for in the Indian Treaty of 1807, at Detroit, we find it mentioned as a point from which the treaty boundary line was fixed, and in the Treaty of 1819, while not mentioned by name, it again becomes a point in a change of direction in the boundary of the lands ceded.

In Michigan's early history several "paper cities" were "built" with ink, among them, White Rock. By its promoters it was mapped in fine detail as a great city at the mouth of a river, with a harbor picturing vessels, great and small, large industries flourishing, with a court house and (let us hope) a jail. Lots were sold, we are informed, and for a time the "city" boomed-for the promoters-but otherwise failed to materialize. In a footnote Mr. Holbrook says that it once had a population of 600. A few weeks ago, the author with friends, visited this dead "city," and was greeted by a gas station attendant who gave us some information, and also not far off, a party of roistering young men and women in an automobile were pouring down alcoholic refreshments at a wayside "tavern" or "beer garden"- we did not inquire which - and these two establishments seem to be all that is left of White Rock - and both very modern. The "river" forming the port, has lamentably shrunk, and about all aside from its history, that remains of interest, is THE WHITE ROCK, out perhaps a half-mile more or less from the shore. As the day was very hazy,

a correct estimate of the distance was impossible. South of this great boulder, and about as far out, a smaller one appears, and on both numerous gulls with their weird cries gave a touch of wildness to the scene, while far out, great freighters, eight or nine of them all north-bound and dimly seen through the haze, added to an unreality to the picture, and brought to mind the ghosts of the past, a misty present, and a possible future when this shore will again be lined with dwellings, not of mill men and women, clerks or managers-although it is possible-but of summer homes, all with a grand outlook on the water with its White Rock of the Indian, a venerated landmark long before a white man ever looked at it: the story of a fabled city, and also to be told, the tragedy of the fire of 1871.

> By the roadside a bronze tablet on a large boulder tells us that "The white rock in Lake Huron opposite this stone, long venerated by the Indian tribes of Michigan, marks the northern line of the territory released by them to the United States under the treaty at Detroit, November 17, 1807."

and also that it was erected by the Harbor Beach Daughters of the American Revolution, certainly like many another similar gift of the kind, one of the most worthy that could be made.

The fire at White Rock in 1871 was a tragic one. It is said that the inhabitants fought the fire all day Sunday, but as evening approached, a west wind came up and drove the people into the water. Fortunately, it was shoal for some distance out, and there they were forced to remain all night till daybreak, eight tragic hours, the grown-ups holding the little ones by turns' splashing water on each other, for at times the wind blew the flames from the burning woods, "sometimes more than a hundred yards out." Two people were so badly burned that they died, and others suffered from the same cause but not fatally. In the afternoon of Monday, the steamer Huron came to their rescue. White Rock Village had vanished. An old print in Holbrook's book, is in part at least realistic, and like many pictures of that day when drawn by good artists, gives us life-like faces, postures and expressions. The author recalls seeing it sixty-five or more years ago in a book called "The Great Fires in Chicago and the West," and Mr. Holbrook with a fine sense of fitness gives it

a place in his volume.

As to the fires of 1881, it is said that the main fire started in Lapeer county on August 31, and spread along northeast along the south branch of the Cass River, and was driven by a strong changeable wind, and spread east and west as well as driving north. Mr. Holbrook relates that a heavy thunderstorm swept from south to north over the Thumb, lighting many fires, which joined the main fire, or rather added to its total. Conditions were exactly right, for there had been a long drought, and again the Huron shore was swept, this time with great loss of life, for at Richmondville, Forestville, Sand Beach and Port Hope the deaths numbered forty-seven, while the whole figure as given by Holbrook counted up to one hundred and sixty-nine, and he evidently had very good authority for that number. It has been stated both higher and lower, as usual in such instances. Forty-four townships were almost completely burned over, most of them in Huron and Sanilac Counties, with one each in Lapeer and Tuscola County. There were also partial burns in three other townships in Lapeer County, a total aggregate of considerably more than a million acres. The financial loss was much greater than in 1871, and the amount of wild life destroyed must have been enormous.

Mr. Holbrook's book is commended to those who would like more detail of both of the great Thumb fires as well as other great fires in our State and farther west.

Very recently the author received a letter from Mr. William J. England of Caro, who has all his life been a resident in Tuscola County, and regarding the great fire of 1881 he says: "At that time I was only three years old...I had relatives living in Huron County and can remember the vast tracts of destroyed forests, as I was with my parents some two or three years after the fire on a horse and buggy trip to a point somewhere north of Bad Axe. I also recall seeing so many of those unfortunate people who suffered so severly from burns, their faces and hands were so badly scarred, and of course those scars remained with them as long as they lived. Of some, their sufferings must have been fearful, as in most cases no form of proper treatments were available."

The decade was also marked by another man-made casualty, the sawmill strike in 1885. It was in the days of the Knights of Labor with Terence V. Powderly as its chief. Some years ago a friend related how as a young coal miner he had an experience that proved how easy it is to excite mens' minds by a certain kind of oratory. He was working in a mine where conditions were very good, work steady and pay (as he thought) very adequate, and "the company and bosses" fair and reasonable. In fact as a former farmer, he had never had things so easy or made so much money. But there came "a fly in the ointment." In a neighboring city, the miners were holding a convention which he attended, and listened to an address by an official of the miner's union. He said: "I never realized how I was being abused by the "company and bosses" until I listened to that orator, and some of us including myself, really believed that we had been robbed, cheated and maltreated. We were up in arms and ready to do anything." The Saginaw River sawmill strike was another example of mob-psychology.

For years the sawmills had run eleven hours a day, and there was a reason for it. The work was purely seasonal, for in those days, lumbering without snow and ice was impossible, and sawing with snow and ice after the latter had formed was also impossible. The sawing season ran from May to November, sometimes a little longer or shorter, according to weather conditions, usually about seven months. For those days, mill-men were well-paid, owing to the very fact of seasonal employment. The hours were long, but aside from a very few, the men were practically working out of doors. There was nothing unhealthful about it, rather the contrary, and the work was such that their minds were occupied all the time: the sawyer depended on the boom-boss; the gang runner on the sawyer; the edger on both; the trimmer on the edger; the loaders on the trimmer, the pilers on all behind them. It was a continuous operation from boom to pile, and there was no time for monotony on the one hand, or undue excitement on the other. There was no running from machine to machine for "gabbing" and no surreptitious loafing in wash-rooms.

The"slow-down" had not yet been inventdd but was in the egg ready to be hatched.

Many of the mill-men lived within a few minutes walk of their work, and in some instances, mill-owners provided comfortable boarding houses run by other parites for such of their unmarried workmen as preferred to be close to their work. With the coming of the Knights of Labor with its orators, there came some unrest: "You're working too hard; too long hours; too small pay. 'The bosses' are grinding you." It is unquestionable that there had gradually arisen more or less dissatisfaction with the eleven-hour day, but it was tempered by the fact that two shifts were impractible. Good light at night, both for safety and efficiency was absolutely necessary, and good light in a sawmill in those days could not be had, for it was long before the time of electric floodlights, for electric lighting was in its infancy. Still, the demand for a shorter day had grown, and with good reason. Humanitarian considerations were of weight. It was not entirely through crusaders that slavery was abolished, for their advanced thought was not all their own: they were the exponents, the mouth-pieces to proclaim it. The Garrisons and "Uncle Tom's Cabin" writers and Sumners had their day and use, and while immeasurably smaller, we may put Terence V. Powderly in a somewhat similar class, for honesty and sincerity were his, while a majority of his chief lieutenants were lacking in both qualities. Where they were honest and sincere, in almost every case, one side of their minds was apt to be a complete vacancy: they could not realize that in a civilized country employment is not self-creative: there must be an employer who had enough capital to start the enterprise; enough brains to run it, and enough foresight and energy to keep it going, and this applies to the great corporation equally with the carpenter who with four or five men, built the houses for the hundred or so saw mill workers in each large mill in 1886, modified by present day conditions.

The shorter day in Michigan came by legislation, not by a strike, and was to take effect in 1886. Naturally, because the law was not passed until after the beginning of the logging season of 1885, the lumbermen had put into the

streams their usual cut of logs, based on the eleven-hour day. The mills on the Saginaw River started as usual, running eleven hours, and the season was well advanced before the orators had succeeded in causing sufficient discontent to bring a strike with its usual accompaniment of lawlessness, intimidation and destruction of property. It started at Bay City, early in July, and was engineered with an ingenuity which if expended on a worthy object, might have been of lasting benefit to the engineers. There was no strike at Saginaw, at first, but at Bay City, hundreds of men on lighters towed by tugs, started up the river, stopping at every sawmill to drive the men out by force, and continuing to the last mill on the river. Of course, it is true that some of the men in these mills were in favor of a strike, and this is always the case, for some human beings are not susceptible to reason or rightfulness, but the great majority were opposed. Organized action by overwhelming numbers working in detail on the individual mills did the work, exactly as very small percentages cause wide-spread strikes in our own day. Before this, strikes had never been fashionable in the sawmills. From every standpoint the one in 1885 was abortive, for nothing was gained but much was lost, and the orators of that day are forgotten except by a very few, for the sun of their day went in total eclipse. One or two got into the State Legislature where their style of oratory was not in demand. There is a world of difference between "reformers."

It has been noted that most of the lumber manufactured went by boat to New York and Ohio Ports, but in the late eighteen-seventies, planing-mills and "sorting yards" began operations, and a considerable trade in carload lots developed. The sorting yards bought great blocks of pine lumber from the mill-owners, which was transported by lighter or rail or both to the sorting yards, where it was inspected (graded), piled for storage or further drying, and largely shipped to small lumber yards in Southern Michigan, Ohio and Indiana. Much of the lumber when dried, went through the planing-mills in Bay City and Saginaw, before shipment, and doors, window sash, blinds, fence pickets and other products were turned out for local use and for shipment.

Some of the planing-mills had sorting yards in connection, and one or two sawmills used all their cut in the car trade.

1890 found the Saginaw Region cities balancing on a rather narrow ridge, for the lumbermen saw the completion of their work on one hand, and the mercantile and transportation lines were beginning to wonder what was coming with the loss of the sawmills. True, they were still running-most of them-but the time was at hand for taking stock. For years two municipalities had existed with all the paraphernalia of cities-two mayors, two councils, two of everything: why not consolidate?

The rivalry between Saginaw City and East Saginaw, at times acrimonious, was beneficial to neither and detrimental to both. Their general interests were the same, and it is possible that some of the influential people of the former were somewhat too conservative as things appeared in those days but perhaps they were more far-sighted than they have been credited with being. On the other hand, the location of the business part of East Saginaw was unwise, for it was in a swamp. To a great extent, humanity has advanced by the trial-and-error method, and we have patched up our mistakes with expedients, often temporary, and quite as often, expensive, and it is not difficult to cite instances in the history of the two Saginaw but we dislike to own up to our shortcomings.

Some of the rivalries existed in the Bay Cities, but in far less degree, for they had not been troubled by the primary rivalries of the Saginaws.

The wise foresight of Major Daniel Baker in locating the fort where he did was supplemented by the authoritive advice of Governor Cass and in a natural way, the village grew up around it; we have had an account of the beginnings of East Saginaw, and at this late date it is not necessary to go into the causes of the various disagreements between the two cities.

For some years prior to 1890, there had been a definite movement toward uniting "East Town" as it was quite commonly called, and in fact, so designated for convenience in the operation of the boom companies, with what west siders were careful to call "Saginaw City." A new generation which neither knew of

cared about the rights and wrongs of the past was in control, and finally prevailed, so by act of the Legislature, approved June 28, 1889, on the first Monday of March, 1890, the first mayor, council and certain other officials were elected. The Council was an unwieldy body of thirty members over whom as a deliberative assembly, the Mayor presided. Its membership included perhaps ten or twelve outstanding citizens, with the balance "run of mine," which is to say that they were representative of a majority, great or small, of their constituents. The Mayor, George W. Weadock, was a prominent attorney, an excellent presiding officer, and withal, a high-grade personality, who handled his varigated body of ordinance-makers with skill and wise discrimination.

To secure consolidation, several compromises were necessary, and it was fortunate that the men who were responsible saw far enough ahead to plan accordingly. First of all, the City Hall was to be centrally located. Second, three bridges were to be constructed, one at Court Street, another from South Saginaw to the south end of the West Side, and the third from the First Ward to Carrollton. In due time all three were built and the City Hall erected on its present site, far enough away from all the business districts to keep out the crowd of loungers or casual visitors who take up the time of officials to no purpose. Another compromise was the retention of the West Side postoffice, and this called for a renaming of both. The names, East Saginaw and Saginaw City, each embodying two words were cumbersome, and William S. Linton, a man of whom Saginaw owes much, was in a position to influence the naming, and very quickly, the East Side postoffice was officially SAGINAW, and the West Side, SAGINAW WEST SIDE, so once more the East Side got ahead, but it was taken as a good joke instead as an affront, and we still had four words for our postoffices.

CHAPTER XI
A DECADE OF CHANGE

In 1890 the men of affairs of Saginaw saw "The Handwriting on the Wall," but unlike that seen by Belshazzar, it did not say of the great pine lumber industry, "Though art weighed in the balances and found wanting," but it did say, "Thou seest the end." There was still hardwood in great plenty, and some men's thoughts turned to it as a further resource for employment for the citizens,

and possible profit for the promoters, and partly for this but more for an altruistic spirit, an influential body of men of foresight, local interest and financial standing, organized the Saginaw Improvement Company. It bought large tracts of land in the south part of the city on both sides of the river, surveyed and platted it into lots for dwellings, but more important, laid out long stretches of ample sites for manufacturing plants on each side of the river to which the three railroads built spurs to provide ready transportation. The lots for dwellings in a considerable number of instances, already had houses on them, and as all lots were to sell at a uniform price of $150,00$ and to be awarded by lot, there were a good number of prizes. The sale took place, and with the money received, the Improvement Company was able to bring about a dozen manufacturing plants to Saginaw which were equitably divided between the East and West Sides. Of these, more than half were dependent on hardwood for their raw material. During the panic of 1893, some failed, but gradually their places were taken by others, and of the original number, four still flourish and afford work for hundreds of hands. The Improvement Company put a fortune into this enterprise, but never profited through it. The sale of lots left many of their hands, and a syndicate of some of the members bought up the unsold lots at the established price, which in later times they sold as low as $20 to $25 per lot, one entire block being sold for $500,000 which at present figures, is worth six or seven thousand dollars, and other lots which are now worth from $500 to $1000, although at present (1949) owing to exorbitant building costs, others remain at a comparatively low figure.

The panic of 1893 came to Saginw in the latter part of the year, and to Saginaw it was doubly a year of disaster, for on May 20th of that year, there occurred the worst fire the city had ever experienced. About four o'clock of that day, a fire started in an abandoned mill on "The Middle Ground," now a part of Rust Park, and about east of the foot of Madison or Monroe Street. In a very recent conversation with retired Fire Chief, Robert B. Hudson, he informed the author that the start of the fire was due to the extreme carelessness of a man

who was calking and tarring a boat very near the Sample and Camp Mill. He was melting his tar over a fire, and as there was a heavy wind blowing from the southwest at the time, sparks from his fire were carried to the mill and started the blaze. Mr. Hudson was at the time, assistant to the engineer of the steam fire engine that did duty when a fire was out of reach of city hydrants, and the steamer was at once sent to the Middle Ground to fight the fire there, but as soon as it was controlled from spreading at that place, the steamer was returned to the station on South Harrison Street, and the men assigned to other duty. We should consider this statement as authorative, as Mr. Hudson's memory is crystal-clear, and his records, kept for many years, bear him out in the statement.

Owing to the high wind and the combustible state of the old mill, as well as an accumulation of dry wood and rubbish, it was all fanned into a hurricane of fire that carried large blazing embers to the east end of the Bristol Street Bridge, which was quickly on fire, and in a few minutes buildings on the block bounded by Washington, Atwater, McCroskey, and Water Streets were blazing, as well as Fire Department Building No. 6, on Washington betwenn Atwater and Bristol Streets. The firemen tried to confine the fire to the West Side of Washington, but were driven away, and had to abandon some of their hose. Blazes were started far northeastward by burning brands carried by the wind, and were soon beyond control, and although help came from the Bay City and Flint Fire Departments, within two hours-and-a-half, a blackened, smoking strip two or three blocks wide and a mile or more long, was burned to within a short distance of Genesee Avenue. Hundreds of buildings were gone and it was not until 6:30 that the fire was brought under control, the wind having gone down, and the track of destruction had been narrowed down to about a block in width. At six o'clock, the great Germain wood-working plant and planing mill on Holland Ave., beyond Genesee, and about a mile from the center of the larger conflagration, took fore, and with a quantity of lumber was totally consumed. The entire loss for the day amounted to $670,000 with $464,000 insurance. The author vividly recalls some of the scenes of the day. There was only one life lost,

an aged man who somehow was trapped, and although rescued by a policeman, was so badly burned that he died.

The panic of 1893 brought much hardship to the people of Saginaw and its surrounding region. Owing to the prosperous times for some years previous, there had arisen a wave of speculation, and in many instances of foolish investment, to say nothing of a growing extravagance and spending that could have only one ending-a general break-down. Fortunately for the self-respect of workingmen as well as well-to-do people, there was a "tightening of belts," a living within income, a self-help and a neighborly help that tided over four or five very hard years. Where possible, the manufacture plants continued to run, even if only a small scale. Some of them created work for their employes. One large plant manufacturing staple goods, but of a nature that were among the first to be hit in loss of sales, filled their warehouses to the ceiling with those very products, and later, even erected a larger warehouse, painted all their buildings including the great main one. For the worst year of the panic, the poor tax of the City of Saginaw for those actually needing assistance was about $40,000, the population being perhaps two-thirds of what it was in one of the earlier years of the late "depression," by the way, a new name for a very old thing-when the city "paid out over the counter," from a similar fund more than ten times as much, in addition to great "contributions" from State and Nation. This does not include any of the succeeding doles, and handouts in return for ostensible "work" under various euphonious names in which the Alphabet was exhausted.

Lumber had started the decade with a cut of over eight hundred million feet, but in 1894, following the year of panic, it had dropped to little more than half of that figure, and reached a low mark in 1896 of a little less than three hundred and seventeen million feet, and most of this was cut in the Bay Cities, for beginning around 1890 or 1891, the rafting of logs from the Georgian Bay Region, as well as some from the Michigan shore of Lake Huron began, and in 1891, eighty million feet was brought to the Saginaw River and sawed at Bay City.

During this period, the operations of the Tittabawassee Boom Company fell in a single year from about four hundred million feet to about a tenth of that figure. This meant that the supposed inexhaustible pine of Michign was near its end, and a district that had surpassed any other in the world in its output, would soon be completely transformed. It was not long before only a single mill in Saginaw was in operation, and it was cutting hemlock, hard maple and beech almost exclusively, the logs being brought by rail from the Wolverine region on Pigeon River. Two or three Bay City mills continued to saw pine for years after the Saginaw mills had all gone except the one mentioned, that of Bliss and VanAuken operating on the site of the Barnard Mill in the present 18th Ward.

As 1899, closed a century, so it also ended an era in the Saginaw Region, and we close this sketch of its history at the turning point of a new century. Those of us who have lived for fifty years in Saginaw, have been a part of its life and history. We hardly realize that from day to day we are making history, for the term itself savors of the past, but in order to make a fair record of it we must have a perspective, for what we recall at close range is strongly tinged with our prejudices, our partisan views, and the human element which brings us to the point of failing to honor The Prophet in His own Country. We find in our Sacred Writings, that Jesus of Nazareth when in his native town, was not considered by his townsmen, or even relatives with any great esteem: in fact they seemed inclined to deride him: they knew him as a common carpenter, and did not realize his great qualities. They said in substance, "What does he amount to? He never did much here in Nazareth." So it happens that we are apt to either minimize or eulogize our contemporaries: we know them, and unfortunately, only see one side of their personalities, so are not able to render a fair judgment.

In the daily paper we find a record of current history, but not infrequently, it is a story only half told, and at times it is mere opinion, guess or even flat invention: today's story may be contradicted by that of tomorrow, or even that of next month's or next year's. Even to go back a half century by one who has passed the three-score-and-ten or four-score, means that he is too near the event: his Scales of Justice are erratic; he will weigh his friends with one weight, but those he dislikes with another. A historian should not be just a colorless recorder; he should be able to draw conclusions, make comments, and call attention to the mistakes of men and their misdoings as well as their laudable actions. Real history is impartial, but none the less draws shadows as well as sunshine.

It is for the reasons given that we close our account with 1899. We have reviewed eighty-five fascinating years of the Saginaw Region's history, centering of course, in Saginaw County. It was my privilege to have seen the pine lumber days in all their glory. Coming to Saginaw as a young man of twenty in the early spring of 1887, I either knew personally or by sight, nearly all the large figures of Saginaw in the Story of the Pine as told through its forests, its rivers, its mills, its ships and its men. I saw them pass off the scene, and also many of their sons, yes, even grandsons. Their quality would be hard to exceed. They were not saints; if they had been they would have been perhaps uncomfortable acquaintances, but they were Men in a day" when men grew tall," and have left their works and their memories to us. In Brady Hill; in Oakwood; in Forest Lawn and other cemeteries we read their names. They have left us a valuable heritage.

We are living in troublous times, and the Hour of Twelve nears. The Sentry is walking his beat, and we listen anxiously to his measured footsteps, for we are hoping to hear his cheering call,-TWELVE O'CLOCK AND ALL'S WELL!
Will we hear it?

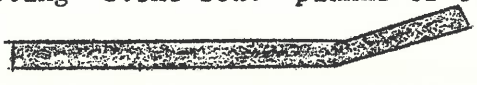
CHAPTER XII
THE TALL PINES OF THE SAGINAW

Maine was well-named the Pine Tree State. Two centures ago, WHITE PINE became known to the English settlers of New England, and more than a hundred years before Maine became a state, its white pine was being sawed into boards, planks and timber, and the Broad Arrow of England's king was being placed on picked pine trees, reserving them for masts of ships of war for the navy of the ruling monarch of Great Britain. "The King's Mark" was the figure of a wide arrowhead cut through the bark into the sapwood, and at times it was branded there with a red-hot iron so that it could more plainly seen and recognized.

Pine grew in all New England as well as plentifully in New York and Pennsylvania, but to Maine justly came the title given her. Down the Penobscot, the Kennebec and the Androscoggin Rivers to the sawmills, went millions of logs to be converted into lumber which found a ready market in metropolitan districts and to scattered cities far distant. Northern New York was an important competitor, and Pennsylvania had its markets well supplied from its own forests, and it was not until the middle of the last century that the white pine of New England and the upper Middle States began to be conserved from the realization that it could not last many years longer with the growing demand. There was no good substitute for it: it was pre-eminent for use in the manufacture of doors, window sash, blinds, shingles and certain other products, such as siding, outside trim, and was also largely used for interior finish, flooring and ceiling, and in the days when it was in great plenty, it was largely used for timbers, joists and scantling in the frames of buildings, and one of the author's boyhood memories is the miles of fencing in Eastern New York, that along with stone walls and rail fence enclosed farm lands, and made of six-inch pine boards. In those days, a mile of fence excluding the posts, could be bought for from $130 to $150. Today it would cost more than ten times as much for corresponding pine, which it would be hard to get at any price.

North America alone produced white pine, and no Old World wood was its equal for the purposes noted. Pinus Strobus, its scientific name, was a new one for the botanists, and its nearest relation, the western or Idaho White Pine, Pinus monticola, so similar in appearance, texture, weight and grain that even an experienced Saginaw carpenter could not tell the difference until he had applied his plane to a dry board, and from the shaving, scented the sweet aromatic perfume exhaled from it, and realized that it was only a first cousin of the tree we had so long been familiar with, the White Pine of Maine and Michigan.

In the preceding pages we have touched lightly on lumbering, for it has seemed better to more particularly sketch a picture of the industry that put the name, SAGINAW, on the map. This is not to be considered as exclusively to the city of that name, but to it as the geographical center of the greatest pine lumber region in the United States, and of course, to put it superlatively, in the world, a bit of American hyperbole that is nearly as ridiculous as much other American extravaganza.

We have noted that the first Saginaw sawmill was built for the Williams Brothers near the river and just south of Mackinaw Street. It was equipped with a mulay saw which may be described as an "up and down" machine using a single heavy saw, its upper end bolted to a stout iron block working free between guides, with the lower end connected with a pitman which was moved by being connected with a crank and shaft. It was a great improvement on the "English gate" mill, which on account of its construction, was only capable of a slow motion, and if it reached a capacity of five hundred feet of inch boards per day was doing well, while the mulay sawed at least three times as much, and if closely attended and cutting plank and timbers as high as 2,500 feet. It is not necessary to describe the English gate. At best it was a clumsy affair and not adapted to large logs, but could be used for certain special work that could not be done by mulay or circular saws, such as cutting "stone boat" planks or others requiring a wide angle thus: Stone boat plank. 

The second mill on the Saginaw was built in 1836 on grounds now occupied by the Consumers Power Company's gas tanks, and from it, the first cargo of lumber was shipped from the Saginaw River. By many it has been presumed that these two mills were the first to have been built on the Saginaw or its tributaries, but this is an error, for the first sawmill was on the Thread River (Creek) at Grand Blanc in 1828 and 1829 by Rowland Perry and Harvey Spencer. It was a poor affair, and after three or four years it was wholly abandoned. The next sawmill was built on the Thread about two miles above its mouth in the Flint in 1829 and 1830, and Judge Albert Miller in his "Pioneer Sketches" in Vol VII., Pioneer Collections says: "The first raft of lumber that was ever floated on the tributaries on the Saginaw, was manufactured at this mill and hauled across to Flint River and floated down to Saginaw." Another sawmill was built on Perry Creek, just above its mouth across from Tuscola Village in 1836 by Dennis Harrison for Lewiston, N.Y. parties, and was sold later to E.P. Perry, whose name was given to the stream. At that time and subsequently for some years, the Cass River was obstructed by five great jams of floodwood, and the State Legislature having voted a thousand dollars to anyone who would clear the river, Mr. Perry undertook the work and completed it about 1839 at a cost to him of over $1,500.00. In 1846, a jam or jams similar in the Flint was removed, allowing rafts of sawed lumber to be floated down to Saginaw from Flint, from the mill of George H. Hazelton, who in his "Reminiscences"(Pioneer Collections, Vol. XXII.) states that at that time he was cutting six to eight thousand feet of pine lumber per day, his mill being on Flint River.

It will be seen that up to nearly 1850, lumbering was practically confined to local needs, but from that year it assumed an importance that overshadowed all other industry, agriculture included, and its foundations were being laid, and the clearing of the Cass River, far more important than the Flint, was providing a water highway for as a whole, the finest pine in Michigan, the so-called "cork pine." People have often supposed that cork pine was

strictly limited to the Cass River region and was a special kind of pine, and like many others has become by repetition, quite firmly implanted, but "cork pine" was simply matured pine from trees which due to their maturity, had very little sapwood, and had grown under especially favorable conditions. Trees of this description run largely to clear lumber, that is without knots. Millions of feet of "cork pine" came also from the Tittabawassee River drainage, especially from the Tobacco River. All the pine floated down the Tittabawassee was roughly credited to the Tittabawassee. Its tributaries, the Chippewa and Pine entering at Midland; the Salt at Sanford; the Tobacco at "Sixteen" (Edenville), with the Sugar and Molasses, farther north, and all in the very heart of the pine region. At first, water wasthe only means of transporting logs to the Saginaw River cities, but later, spurs of the Flint and Pere Marquette Railroad penetrated far back from the streams, and two or three narrow gauge railroads laid their tracks back into the deep forests, one of them bringing millions of logs to the banking ground at Red Keg (Averill), while another terminated at Ox Bow between Sanford and Sixteen. It was said that the banking ground at Averill was the largest in the world, although some have claimed that the one at Ox Bow was the largest. As the author never saw the latter, he can express no opinion, but has several times walked over the one at Averill which ran around a symmetrical bend in the river for about three-quarters of a mile, the river-bank being from thirty to forty feet high. This banking ground was used jointly by the Flint and Pere Marquette Railroad and the narrow gauge railroad. The one at Ox Bow has been eliminated by the construction of the power dam at Sanford. This OxBow must not be confused with the Ox Bow a short distance above Midland.

There was a smaller banking ground at Midland where there were two or three mills and numerous other banking grounds on the tributary streams and the main river, which were filled with logs direct from where they were cut and hauled there by horses. When banking was completed at Averill and Ox Bow, the scene was an imposing one.

All the logs floated down the Tittabawassee were held at Bryant's Trip, an immense boom stretched across the river in Section Eleven, Thomas Township, about three miles above the Gratiot Road, otherwise M-46 , and reached by the South River Road. From the riverman's standpoint, it was a strategic spot. for a bend in the river helped to hold back the logs which thus confined and held back by the great boom, when needed at the sorting grounds below, the trip was "opened," that is, loosed from its fastenings at one end, and when a sufficient number of logs had passed through, was closed by means of a capstan operated by two men.

It is not necessary to describe the cutting of the logs in the woods, their "marking" to designate the owners, or the methods of "driving" them down the streams, for these processes have been related so often that even the school-children are apt to be familiar with them, but rafting and the preparation for that work had little of the Paul Bunyan color or the embellishment of various writers who never saw a lumber camp, a "drive," or entered a sawmill. Consequently, much of that kind of literature has created numerous false impressions, such as that when the men came out of the woods they always "painted the town red." As a matter of fact, many of the mill-men went to the woods to have winter as well as summer employment. They were men of families, sober and industrious, and their wages were used to buy homes, to support their families, and to provide for necessities in general. This was especially true of the teamsters who worked at the mills, for many teams of horses were needed and in winter, horses and men went to the camps. Then there were the scalers, filers, foremen, cooks, blacksmiths and helpers in addition to a large number of skilled men with a proportion of common laborers.

That there were many who spent their wages in the spring in "riotous living" was true, but with them it was one grand drunk with its usual vicious accompaniments, while at the present day, with far too many with a weekly pay-day, it is a weekly orgy that involves much more vice and viciousness in the aggregate. It must also be remembered that in the lowest grades of labor,

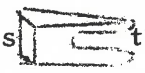
ignorance is often the mother of vice, and the average "lumber-jack" - term seldom heard sixty years ago - was far from being the roistering, drunken fool of some present-day feature writers.

Some years ago the author was requested to furnish some information regarding the operations of the boom companies that operated on the Tittabawassee, the Cass and the Bad Rivers, and in complying, naturally chose the Thittabawassee Boom Company which operated primarily on the river of that name, but also delivered logs to the Saginaw River Mills.

The first step in the handling of logs received from the many operators who lumbered on the main stream and its tributaries, and brought their products in the drives, finally all mixed together, but identified by the owner's marks, was made with a heavy hammer having on its face, various devices in high relief, so that when a blow was struck with it on the smooth end of a log, an impression was made, thus indicating the owner.

We have mentioned Bryant's Trip which was held at either end by great clumps of piles driven on each side of the river, between which, attached by heavy chains to them was a boom of pine logs perhaps ten feet wide, hewn flat on the upper surface for convenience of footing. This big boom could be opened or closed at will, and was called "The Trip," because it could be "tripped" or opened and closed, the free end being on what at that point, was the north bank or side of the river. It took its name from JOHN BRYANT, who tended it for years. There was a minor trip at what was called the "Brown Bar," near the old Riverside Park, but this caught stray logs, or perhaps small numbers of logs not sorted above.

As the logs were mixed up, the great function of the Boom Company was to sort them and form them into rafts. To do this, extensive works had to be constructed beginning at Bryant's Trip and continuing to the mouth of the Tittabawassee. These works were formed by driving piles, supplying booms separating the various log "pockets" into which the logs were sorted, a free channel for the passage of tugs and other craft was maintained on the left side of the river, the "sorting gaps" were openings in the various boomed enclosure into which the "Marks" were sorted. As the logs came down a narrow lane, men stationed at each Gap drew in

with a pike-pole, the logs bearing the marks belonging to that pocket. In this manner they were sorted, and when sufficient were accumulated they were rafted in long strings each log having a "rafting-pin" driven into it about midway its length. This pin was a hardwood wedge from six to eight inches long and two inches wide, with a slot cut in it thus  through which a strong rope freely passed, thus stringing the logs together in this fashion . After the rafts were formed, tugs towed them down-river to their respective owners' mill booms. When the author came to Saginaw in 1887, the sorting gaps were in the vicinity of the Michigan Central Railroad Bridge across the Tittabawassee and the operating "boom-house", a huge brown structure, where a large part of the boom-men boarded, was a short distance below the bridge. It at times happened that an excess of certain marks would be rafted, which could not immediately be received in the mill booms, and as a consequence large rafts were stored in the streams until such time as the owners were ready to receive them. In order to provide adequate storage room, a dredged cut was made across Green Point to the Shiawassee River and many rafts stored in the widened waters of that stream. This cut formed an artificial island, and many years ago, when the river was dredged to the forks, hydraulic dredges were used, and great quantities of earth was piled on this island, and these small hillocks have been mistaken for "Indian mounds" by some persons, but like the cut, are white man's doings.

We have been able to find records or other information concerning nine boom houses operated by the Tittabawassee Boom Company. The first was on Section 19 in Thomas Township, a little less than a mile and-a-half north of the Gratiot Road (M47) on the right hand side of the South River Road up the Tittabawassee. The second was at Shields north of M47 on ground west of the bayou bridge, which some years ago was and may be at present, occupied by a repair garage. The third was just below the M.C. Railroad Bridge on the south bank of the river. In 1887, it was called "The Section House" by the Boom Company. The fourth was on the same side of the river between the present Center Road Bridge and the old Merrill Bridge, but neared the latter. The fifth was east of the

*See note at end of chapter.

Merrill Bridge and about half way to the abandoned "Coal Branch" of the Pete Marquette Railroad. The sixth was called the "Fitzhugh Boom House," was directly across from Riverside Park. The seventh was near the old East Saginaw Waterworks, while the eighth, the only one on left bank of either of the rivers was on the west side of the Saginaw River, just above the abandoned Flint and Pere Marquette Belt Line grade and bridge. The ninth and last was near Crow Island.

After the Tittabawassee Boom Company ceased operations, Edw. Andrews, the owner of a shingle-mill west of the M.C. Crossing and north of the river near opposite "The Section House," ran the boom for a few years, and built a small boom house between the location of the Fitzhugh Boom House and the Cass Cut, and we presume that some of the old foundation posts may still be seen. These boom houses were not operated all at the same time, but as the necessities arose, some were vacated and others erected, but it is probably that more than one was in operation contemporarily.

The Cass River logs were sorted and rafted by the Huron Boom Company, which had a boom house on the east side of the Saginaw River, just south of the Saginaw City Limits. They also had another which was located on the picturesque little island formed by the Cass Cut from the Cass to the Shiawassee Rivers, while the Bad River and Flint River logs were taken care of by their owners who had a boom house near the lower end of what was called "The Bad River Boom," in part a dredged channel from a bend in the Shiawassee River northward, and coming out into the river near the mouth of Swan Creek, near which the boom house stood.

When the Tittabawassee Boom Company was in full operation, the river scene was a rather impressive one, rivermen at their various labors from Bryant's Trip to the Brown Bar, "Tripping," sorting, pinning, rafting, towing- the last as far as Bay City. Red bateaus from the great rope-carrier thirty or forty feet long to the two-man size; piles of rope, barrels of rafting-pins, long pike-poles and short pin-mallets, axes and occasional peavies, all now a memory but an unfading one to those who took part in or witnessed the picturesque scenes, "a picture on Memory's Wall," that at well past the four-score mark, comes vividly back, and like other impressive sights, a Chapter of the Past.

Note to *, page 144. The original rafting pins were straight hardwood "spikes" ten or twelve inches long and an inch or more in diameter. Like the "wedge" they were driven into the log, and two half-hitches of the rope was cast around them. It was a rather clumsy process, and the rope was soon so badly kinked that it was impossible to straighten it, and it became an almost dead loss. After the wedge pin came in the cost of rope made a very large drop: time was saved and efficiency of labor was greatly increased. The wedge was patented and for many years the D. Hardin & Co. Mill at the foot of Jackson Street made them.

CHAPTER XIII
THE PINE TREE TRANSFORMED

The introduction of the circular saw greatly increased the output of lumber, and it was further increased by use of the gang-saw which was a machine having a considerable number of relatively thin saws set in an iron frame and operating up and down like a mulay. With it, a large log could be sawed into boards at one time, or a number of smaller logs, slabbed on two sides by the big circular, which was the initial machine in a large mill, would be piled one on the other and held in place by rollers as they were passed through the gang of saws. The kerf or cut of a large circular saw was five-sixteenth of an inch, while that of a gang saw was about an eighth of an inch; consequently, the use of the gang saved much lumber, the proportion being nine inch-boards for the gang to eight for the circular, which means that a small log would cut into nine boards by the gang, but only eight if cut by the circular.

The second mill built in Saginaw, later called the Emerson Mill, was considered a model in its day, and up to 1850, for it had a capacity of about 1,300,000 board feet per annum, or rather season, of about 175 days. In 1846, it was refitted with new machinery, bringing it up to 3,000,000 feet. The third mill was built in 1850 by Charles W. Grant and Alfred M. Hoyt for the purpose of cutting plank for the Genesee Plank-Road which was built that year.

The fourth mill built was that of Sears and Holland in 1855, which was a boom year for sawmills, for we are informed that at the end of the year,

there were twenty-three sawmills on the Saginaw River with an aggregate capacity of sixty million feet per annum. We do not find a record of the location of these mills, further than that the last two mentioned were on the east side of the river. There were some at Bay City included in the twenty-three. In 1857, the number had grown to forty-four, cutting that year 113,700,000 feet of lumber. Perhaps it will be well to say that a "foot" of lumber means a piece twelve inches square and one inch thick.

In 1870, eighty-three mills were operating, cutting 576,736,000 feet, and in 1882, although the number of mills had been reduced to seventy., the cut of that year was 1,011,274,905 feet, more than double the amount produced twelve years before by eighty-three mills. This meant that the mill equipment had not only been added to but greatly improved.

Lumber in its narrower sense, was not the entire product, for many of the mills were making lath and barrel staves, by-products from slabs, also barrel-headings from short pieces of boards. In addition, there were many shingle-mills some in connection with the sawmills, but others operating to produce shingles only-pine during the early and middle years, but in later days, also of cedar.

Until well along toward 1890, practically the whole cut of the mills was pine, but from that time on, considerable hemlock was sawed in a few mills, and finally some hardwood, such as hard maple, beech and oak was sawed.

The "square timber" business, oak hand-hewed, occupied the time of a few small operators, while "cooperage stock",-elm, which grew thickly on much of the lowlands, furnished material for a good number of small mills making machine-made barrel hoops, while "split" hoops, rived and shaved by hand,employed some of the settlers in their spare time, or even in small shops. Black walnut, hickory and basswood were also sawed in some of the small country mills, the first for furniture, the second for axe and tool handles, and the last for buggy bodies or cutters, but over all towered THE PINE.

There have been many metaphorical tears shed over the "slaughter" of the pine, the "greed" of the lumbermen, to say nothing of "robbery" and "plunder" by them.

These critics are not only sadly lacking in information, but in their understanding. Constructive criticism is always valuable, but to be a constructive critic one must be well informed on all sides of the question to begin with, it was very generally believed the supply of white pine in the northern part of the Northwest Territory was inexhaustible, and this was based on the comparatively small area of Maine and New York pine, the small population of the country, and the supposed pine possibilities of the west. From the figures above given, it will be noted that there quite suddenly arose an enormous demand for pine lumber, both from the east and the middle west. As late as 1890, the prices for the best pine lumber in Michigan were ridiculously low as compared with the prices in New York, Pennsylvania and most of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. For five years previous to his coming toMichigan, the author was mostly employed in the lumber business. The firm for which he worked bought large blocks of pine lumber on the Saginaw docks, boated it to Tonowanda where it was transferred to canal boats, and finally unloaded, sorted, piled, and in time passed through the planing-mill, sash, door and blind factory, and sold to retail customers at figures that would make a Saginaw sawmill owner "dizzy", but the sale price was based on the value of New York pine, which had grown very scarce.

It is quite true that a considerable number of Michigan pine operators became wealthy, but if their profits had been as great by percentages as those of the New York retailers, they would all have been multi-millionaires where very few were even worth half a million, although that was a great fortune for those days. There was a very good reason for eastern high prices. Maine and New York pine had gradually increased in value: it had grown scarce, and consequently high-proced. Western pine was no competitor, for it was simply supplying a deficiency to a certain extent, for white spruce had come into its own, and for some uses was as good as pine, and in others even better, while hemlock, once passed by as worthless, had also come into use, supplanting pine for the frame-work of buildings. The market of eastern pine was at its doors without the expensive carriage by lake vessel and canal boat.

When the author arrived in Saginaw in the spring of 1887, the retail price of the best pine lumber seemed to him to be ridiculously low, but it was not low for Saginaw: the mills were close at hand.

As to the"slaughter", it is well to remember that in 1882 and even later, a good straight log less than ten inches in diameter inside the bark at its smallest end, was a dead loss to the lumberman if put in the river with his other logs, for the cost of cutting, hauling to the water, driving, rafting and sawing was much greater than any possible return. Today, that log cut into lumber might be worth from five to twelve dollars. Much larger logs, if defective, were for similar reasons left to rot or burn. At that/same time we were cutting logs as low as six inches at the small end outside the bark, in the mill where I worked in Central New York.

There were other elements of the picture. It was the days of great railroad building following the Civil War. Transcontinental lines were built partly on a subsidy of "Government land" which had not cost the Government a cent, but were opened to settlement largely at $1.25 per acre, and this was true of Michigan, where for instance, the Flint and Pere Marquette Railroad, from the Saginaw River to Ludington, was in part built on these land grants, and much of that land, in fact most of it was pine land, and was sold by the railroad at low prices. A glance at the map shows the F. & P.M. curving northwestward for a good seventy-five miles from Saginaw, this part of its route through pine that eventually came to the Saginaw River mills.

As to the "greed," there has been no period of history, American or other, where greed was not in evidence, and as far as the average Saginaw Region lumberman was concerned, he probably stood as well in honor and integrity as those in other callings, including our present-day "uplifters" and political economists, with emphasis on political.

Regarding "plunder and robbery" it may be presumed that then as now, there were men who did not hesitate to steal timber. It was not long before the turn of the century that the author saw the finest Norway pine logs, as well as some very good white pine in a certain secluded stream in Michigan, that later on were shown to have been stolen from Government land in part, and when the robbery was discovered, sawed lumber, logs and all were seized, by the Government. The stealing was not done by "lumber barons," but by ordinary, every-day thieves, who knew what to do and how to do it-part of them settlers on Government land themselves, who stole timber with an absolute impartiality from private and Government ownership.

Let us see what Dr. Douglass Houghton said about the matter in his report of January 6, 1840, in regard to seventy-two sections of salt lands, granted to Michigan by the Federal Government.

"Numerous applications have been made for the lease of portions of those lands, which will never be required for salt purposes; but no power exists to lease or place them in any condition by which profit may accrue to the state.

"Nor am I unaware that any power has been delegated by which depredations upon the timber of these lands can be prevented. Extensive depredations have been committed upon the timber of some of these lands, and this in the most bold manner, for they have been committed without any apparent fear of consequences. It is unnecessary to represent to you the great injury thus done to the lands."

It is to be remembered that this was years before any systematic lumbering began, and to those who know, the "stop thief" cry was not infrequently made to cover the lawless cutting by individual settlers or squatters to cover up their own tracks. The author has had knowledge of such instances.

It must also be known that forestry and conservation prior to 1890 was practically unheard of in Michigan or in any western state. Gifford Pinchot, wealthy, well-informed and an enthusiastic conservationist, had a great opportunity to forward both forestry and conservation, and did accomplish much,

but he might have done four-fold more, if it had not been for his abusive attacks in general, with the result of antagonizing nearly all of the lumbermen. The old saying, "a soft answer turneth away wrath" did not seem to be in his vocabulary, but thieves, robbers, grabbers and similar epithets were freely distributed with the usual results. It is well indeed, to call a thief a thief, but when applied indiscriminately, it is not well, but just the reverse.

It has been said with undoubted truth, that some lumbermen stole from other lumbermen, and the Batise Doe Stories, many of them with a Paul Bunyan flavor, were at times true, and at others merely "brag." Batise was a real character whose operations on the Cass River have become legendary.

It has been suggested that some account of the process of the manufacture of lumber and its accessory products by a well equipped mill of the early eighteen-nineties would be of interest, and as a very good example, the first sawmill visited in Saginaw by the author, the last one up the river on the West Side, the Green and Ring Mill, may serve in part, and the Barnard Mill where he was employed for some time will complete the whole picture except for the manufacture of shingles, the Brand and Hardin Shingle-Mill giving the information for that industry.

Both of the sawmills named obtained most of their logs by water, and those railed in were dumped into the booms and went into the mills without going through the rafting process. Both mills had extensive river frontage and in addition, slips where on pile foundations the lumber was piled. The slips were deep dredge cuts, so that the capacity for piling was about doubled.

The power for the Barnard Mill was furnished by two batteries of boilers of four and three boilers respectively, and three "bulldog" or locomotive type boilers; each battery was attended by one fireman, with one for each of the bull-dogs, the latter being also used at night to furnish steam for the engines of the six drill-houses or salt wells, and also to furnish live steam for the salt block, where during the day, the exhaust from the great sawmill engine was used. The bulldogs were "fuel-eaters," and as green sawdust and edgings was used, all under a heavy draft, the running of the mill furnished

all the fuel for the day with a surplus for the night.

The mill-floor was necessarily high above the ground, to accommodate the fire-room and heavy machinery below.

The logs were taken from the water by a heavy endless iron or steel conveyor equipped with strong spurs which engaged the log, and carried it up to the floor of the mill through a hardwood through-like affair with its lower end in the water deep enough to float the largest log to it, and it was the duty of the boom-boss or one of his assistants to keep a supply of logs ready to go up the log-jack as they were needed, the operation being controlled by a man on the floor of the mill who also rolled the logs on the carriage of the great circular saw, where it was adjusted and dogged by the setter and tail sawyer who rode on the saw carriage. No word was ordinarily spoken for this service, the SAWYER, the Big Man of the mill indicating by signs to the setter or tail sawyer what was needed. All ready, the carriage moved by the "shot-gun feed," a long cylinder in which a piston with its rod connected with the carriage was operated by steam to move the latter back and forth at such variable speed as required.

At the sawyer's touch, the singing saw took off a barky slab; the next cuts would be boards with waney edges, that is, with the bark on both edges. Behind the saw stood a man, who with a short hook, pulled to bottom of the cut board toward him, on the "live rolls," rollers operated by power, which carried a waney board to the edger, if square-edged, on to the trimmer. A third or possibly fourth cut if the log was large might be made. The dogs were quickly loosened, the steam "nigger," an ingenious apparatus operated by steam, and handled by a lever near the sawyer who operated it, turned the log so that its flat face was against the brackets of the carriage, it was dogged again and the sawing process repeated. If there was room at the gang it was quickly unloaded and shoved over to it and the whole cant, as it was called in Michigan (stock in the East) was sawed up into boards. If the gang was full, the sawyer sawed up the cant on the circular.

Waney boards were edged, that is, run through the edger which used two

saws, one adjustible by means of a lever, moving to right or left as needed. All went to the trimmer, which cut the boards or plank to uniform length, from twelve to eighteen feet, a few to twenty, for in the days when barns were boarded up and down, the eighteen and twenty-foot lengths were much used, but in the 'nineties, not many pine logs were cut these lengths except to save two or four feet of good timber in the top log. Two men, one at each end, put the boards on the trimmer which carried them automatically to the saws. The different lengths cut were governed by treadles operated by the head trimmer, raising or lowering the saws in the table. In those days inch boards were cut one and one-sixteenth inches thick, and were trimmed two inches plus the called length, so a twelve-foot board or plank was twelve feet and two inches long.

From the trimmer the lumber was loaded on the tram cars, and hauled by horse or mule to the place where piling was being done. The pile-foundations were about sixteen feet below the tramways, with two piles for each space, the back one fronting the river or slip, the other the tramway, the piles rising some distance above the latter. Here the lumber dried until it was ready for shipping.

At the Barnard Mill, the slabs were sawed to stove length, piled in the yard and when dried, sold to customers at $1.50 per load of about a cord and a half of good pine or hemlock wood, for the Barnard Mill in its later years, cut considerable hemlock, largely into two-inch plank and scantling with much timber for local use, as well as the boards coming from the sides of logs being slabbed.

The minor processes, such as sawing stove-wood or its handling from great pockets into heavy two-wheeled dump-carts is not necessary to describe, but there was a picturesqueness to it all that is found in some primitive industries, and invests them with a charm hard to describe or analyze.

The saws, large and small, were kept in order by the filer and his helper, the former being one of the high-paid mill-men, for his work was at all times, highly skilled, while certain special work called for extra skill. Another employe who ranked high, was the millwright, as did the chief engineer and the salt-maker. Then there was the barn-boss, whose business it was to see to the care

and proper shoeing of several powerful teams of fine horses. He also looked after the wagons and carts, and any needing repairs were sent to the wagon shop, or blacksmith. There was the boom-boss, who saw to it that the rafts of logs were promptly made ready for the saw; the piling-boss who himself made one of the two crews of three men each and were picked men which was necessary for their heavy exacting work. There were other employes, such as mill laborers, yardmen, teamsters, the manager, outside superintendent, retail boss (the author) and his helpers, and the office men, perhaps sixty or seventy men all told, the mill turning out 100,000 feet of lumber each day.

In addition to the above there was the salt-maker and his crew of a dozen or fifteen men, making over 45,000 barrels of salt for the year.

For the manufacture of lath, staves and heading, for in the Barnard Mill the slabs and short pieces of board that fell away from the circular saw, were cut up into firewood, we will pass to the Green and Ring Mill.

In the Green-Ring Mill, the large, sound slabs were sawed into four feet lengths, and also into stave-lengths, the latter being shorter. The four-foot slabs were put through the lath gang, cutting them into strips one-and-one-half inches thick, and these in turn went through the lath machine and from that to the lath-tier, who sorted out the culls and seconds, and by aid of an ingenious but simple contrivance and a little clever handling in the tier's part, were clamped in bunches of fifty, tied and thrown on the lath-car. The staves were cut from slabs to the right thickness, run through a machine which gave them the necessary slight taper from center to ends, loaded into dump-carts which hauled them to the stave-yard where they were piled up to dry. The heading was made of short pieces of inch-boards before mentioned, first being cut to the proper length, and one, two or three pieces clamped edge to edge in a machine, which revolving the pieces they came into contact with saws which formed them into the round barrel-heads, having the proper edge to enter the croze or groove in the finished barrel. The pieces forming each head were kept together, and like the staves, were piled up to dry in sets, that is, two headings lightly nailed together.

The manufacture of shingles called for a special line of machinery, the first being the drag-saw, a large crosscut saw operated by power, which cut the log into "bolts," eighteen inches long, which if large were quartered, the sap-wood was cut away on the sapping machine, and passed on to the shingle cutter and sawed into shingles. They were then "jointed-" the edges trimmed and squared with the butt, and the finished shingles dropped into a shute below from which they were taken and packed into bundles by a workman called a "shingle-weaver." These packers became very dexterous in their work, using a simple box-like arrangement in which to pack the shingles. The pull of a lever compressed the completed bundle, the bands were fastened, and the "bunch of shingles" went to the drying yard. Each bunch contained a quarter of a thousand shingles, but this may need some explanation, for we know that shingles were of varying widths. "A thousand shingles" was equivalent to 1000 shingles each four inches wide, so we may say that each bunch of shingles if laid edge to edge would cover a space in length of one thousand inches-250 x 4 = 1000.

Some of the shingle machines were quite complicated, and produced a large output, but the principle was the same in all of them, an alternation of the block being sawed so that the thick end was first cut from one end of the bolt, and the next thick end from the other end of the bolt.

CHAPTER XIV
"THE SALT OF THE EARTH"

We recall hearing a man saying - "I don't see any romance in salt." One comment might be that like other seemingly common things, we do not recall reading a novel in which Salt was the hero, but none the less, the story of Salt in Michigan seems to us to have a similar fascination to Gold in California, and that perhaps our man might read with profit, that choice little book, "Acres of Diamonds."

"The Salt of the Earth,-" a quaint old saying, qualifying some good man in a heart-warming eulogy of only five words.

Salt is such a common object that we scarcely give it a second thought, and yet there is such an interest in it, that in telling its story in the Saginaw Region, one is tempted to take more space than this article will permit.

Salt springs in the Saginaw Region were well known to the Indians, and in Saginaw County, deer-licks as they were called, brine seepages that come to the surface from below, gave the wild creatures the necessary salt for their well being. There were even salt springs, most notable among them, those on the Tittabawassee and Salt Rivers, at and near the mouth of the latter, and Dr. Douglass Houghton, the State Geologist, in his report dated January 2,1839, mentions "the strength and purity of its numerous springs, deemed a strong point for commencing operations," and he goes on to say: "The state salt-lands on the Tittabawassee River, in Midland county, are peculiarly eligibly situated being a few miles below the head of navigation of that stream, and embracing the mouth of Salt River." He had found that a re-examination of the district had shown it to be more extensive than had been supposed, and he had commenced work in sinking a "shaft" about a half-mile below the mouth of the Salt in 1838, and of this he says: "It is proposed to sink the shaft, already commenced to the rock, which may be estimated to lie at a depth of something over one hundred feet, and to secure it carefully from the influx of fresh water. Having accomplished this, the salt rock, which will probably be found, at this point, to lie at a depth of between five and seven hundred feet, will be reached in the usual manner." (Dr. Houghton's spelling and punctuation have been followed) He further states that a conditional contract had been made with a man of great practical experience from the Kanawha salines in Virginia (now West Virginia) to take charge of the rock borings. The work done the first season consisted in clearing the grounds, erecting a house for the workmen, getting out the timber for the dock, and making ready for the actual work on the shaft, but the sickness of the employes during the season, which incapacitated nearly all of them, greatly embarassed operations for it must be remembered that above the Saginaw County line, settlers were very few, and nearly all supplies and replacements had to come from Saginaw by boat. In his report dated January 5, 1842, Dr. Houghton states that after great difficulty, and nine months' labor, an iron tube had been sunk to a depth of 139 feet, all through "alternating strata of clay, sand, gravel and boulders, with which were mixed fragments of

coal;" It is not difficult at this day to realize just why the work progressed so slowly. On the Tittabawassee, Cass, Flint and Shiawassee Rivers at an average distance above Saginaw of fifteen miles, these streams have cut through boulder beds, and the river-beds are paved with stones and rocks, some of the latter of many tons weight. Not only that, but in drilling, where the bit happened to work into a crevice formed by the close proximity of two rocks, only a professional driller can appreciate the difficulties. The boulder bed struck by Dr. Houghton's operator, was a great hindrance.

Dr. Houghton uses the term "shaft" in describing this work, but no shaft was sunk, and the process was practically the same as now employed, tubing being gradually sunk in the hole drilled. The tubing used in the Grand River well which was being put down at the same time, was a nine-inch cast iron pipe, and as in the next paragraph Dr. Houghton says:..."very great difficulties and embarassments have been encountered in sinking the iron tube," we may infer that the same sized pipe was used at the Tittabawassee as at the Grand.

Work ceased in 1841, and it would seem to us that the State should erect a suitable memorial at that point to commemorate the beginnings of a great industry. The state well at the Grand River was a success in every way. It had only forty feet of earth to go through before penetrating the rock. The brine was strong and in quantity, but no great industry resulted in the Grand River Valley.

When the author visited this relic of the past some years ago, the strong platform of heavy timber forming the foundation for the drilling machine was just awash at the edge of the river at the foot of a steep bank, as the river stage was above low water. It lies on the westerly side of the river not far below the M10 Highway bridge, and opposite Sanford. The brine springs still ooze out of the banks of the two rivers and pour their salt brine into the Tittabawassee, to form a not inconsiderable part of the "pollution" credited in the popular mind of Saginaw and perhaps Bay City, to the Dow Chemical Company ten miles below at Midland. Many years ago, and before the Dow Company was any figure in the picture, Saginaw was seeking a new source of water and employed a very competent outside engineer to make an examination and report on available sources. He did much painstaking work, and in his conclusions

said that the general quality of the Tittabawassee River water was much superior, but on account of its heavy saline content could not be recommended, and stated that the next best choice would be the Shiawassee. We have not forgotten some of the ridiculous arguments that followed against Shiawassee water. The author has been quite familiar with all the streams forming the Saginaw, and the vagaries of pro and con arguments about water for the last fifty years or more are well remembered.

We turn now to the actual production of salt. The prophecies of DOUGLASS HOUGHTON were to be fulfilled, but his untimely death by drowning in Lake Superior while on a geological exploration, lost to the State, but gave to Posterity a name and a heritage that are inseparably connected with the great material progress that came into being, and left an example of devotion to duty and to his profession that is like a guiding light in a wilderness, not purely self-seeking; not wholly materialistic; not jealous of place, but a grand example of a great mind in a small body, and a lion's courage in meeting difficulties and finally, death.

There has been no better account of the foundation of salt-making in the Saginaw Region than that of WILLIAM L. WEBBER, in Volume IV., Michigan Pioneer Collections, and to him we have turned for our brief summary of the first salt commercially made in the Saginaw Country.

Early in 1859, twenty-two men, among them, W.L.P. Little, William L. Webber, Moses B. Hess, John F. Driggs, Jesse Hoyt, George A. Lathrop, Henry C. Potter and Chester B. Jones, all with the exception of Jesse Hoyt, residents of East Saginaw, and none of them knew anything about the manufacture of salt, but with a bounty of ten cents a bushel promised by the State Legislature, they subscribed a capital stock of $50,000, and elected Dr. George A. Lathrop, President: William L.P. Little, Treasurer and William L. Webber, Secretary, these with six others making a board of directors. Jesse Hoyt gave the use of ten acres of land in the present First Ward of Saginaw, and work was started. Arad G. Van Demark, a contractor who later built the Hess Street Methodist Church, erected the derrick and Sanford Keeler, superintended the drilling of

of the well. Later, he was general superintendent of the Flint and Pere Marquette Railroad.

Progress was slow, and Mr. Webber relates that after the well was begun, "The want of information as to what was to be done and how best to do it, was such that what is now the work of sixty days was not completed until the 7th of February, 1860, nor until that date did the board of directors feel authorized to declare the experiment a success. They had been encouraged from time to time by the increased strength of the brine as the well was lowered from point to point; but they knew that until chemical analysis should show that the quality of the brine was such as could be profitably used for the manufacture of salt, it could not be deemed a success." The report to the stockholders was published in the Saginaw Courier of February 9, 1860, "and struck the community like an electric shock". The final depth of the well was 742 feet of which the earth was 92 feet. It was located below the present Carlisle Tannery, and the place should be marked permanently by a suitable monument, for it was the start of an industry that brought wealth to the region; furnished work in the aggregate, for thousands of well-paid men in its manufacture, and other thousands in its handling and transport.

As soon as this well had proved a success, two kettle-blocks like those used at Syracuse, N.Y., were built, using cordwood for fuel, and late in June, 1860, salt manufacture began, the product for that year being 10,722 barrels of five bushels each, a bushel being reckoned at 56 pounds, the total therefore, a little over three million pounds.

It was soon found that the quality of the brine was such that evaporation in pans heated by wood fires, or by solar process was better than the use of kettles, also that a process whereby the exhaust steam from the sawmills could be used would mean a great saving in fuel, hence the salt block became an appendage to nearly every sawmill, combining the two industries.

As to the profits derived by the East Saginaw Salt Manufacturing Company, the capital stock was increased to $250,000 of which $175,000 was paid in, but there was never a cent in dividends, and as for the State bounty, previous to

its passage by the Legislature, and before the company was organized, a committee of four, among them, three of the future organizers was directed by a citizens' meeting to petition the Legislature for a bounty of ten cents per barrel. The Legislature seemed to regard the whole salt proposition as a joke, and some member moved in derision, to make the bounty ten cents per bushel - FIFTY cents per barrel, and the bill was passed. When the bounty was applied for it was refused, and it was only after a compulsory writ from the Supreme Court was issued, that the Company received only $3,174,005 ten cents per barrel. The Legislature of 1861 had totally repealed the act, a flagrant case of bad faith to say the least.

As soon as it was seen that salt could be made, other companies were formed, and wells were put down at Saginaw City, Carrollton and Bay City, and later in Huron and Iosco Counties. At Midland, Larkin and Patrick put down a well that was 1,300 feet deep, and evidently penetrated the strata which produces the brines that has furnished the marvelous number of chemical products now made by the Dow Company.

The Syracuse salt-makers, not liking the new competition, put their prices so low that for a time the salt business was a losing venture, but without the elaborate anti-trust laws of the present day, there came an adjustment, and Saginw Salt came into its own, for there was room for all: the growing western country became its market as long as it was produced, and while now practically a thing of the past, none can say with certainty, that this great storehouse beneath us will forever lay unused, for there are perhaps, unthought-of possibilities. The Pioneer Company practically lost its entire investment, but for the community, the State and the expanding West, it was a benefaction, and until the decline of lumbering was an element of prosperity, although to the manufacturers, never a source of much profit.

The processes of salt-making are of interest, but in the brief account following, details are necessarily omitted. Less than two generations ago, it was possible for a person living in one of the Saginaw Valley cities to visit a salt block, and see for himself what was then the best process used in its

making, but few outside the industry itself knew much about it, which again brings to mind "Acres of Diamonds;" our eyes closed to the wealth under our feet, so easily obtained, but so often not only unheeded, but actually unknown.

It is not necessary to go into the primitive methods of salt-making, used by the individual to extract a little of that substance from sea-water or from the flow of brine springs, but we may say that the kettle-block of the East Saginaw Salt Company was simply an elaboration of the process. A kettle-block consisted of two rows of twenty-five or thirty cast iron kettles of from 100 to 120 gallons' capacity each, set on long walls enclosing a fireplace which was fired at one end, the other having a chimney or stack to give draft and carry off the smoke. The building was built in such a manner as to allow the steam to escape at the roof through openings. Between the two rows of kettles was a plank walk from which the salt-maker operated. The kettles were filled with brine and the fires started. Soon after boiling began, salt crystals commenced to form on top of the brine and fall to the bottom. When the brine was boiled down to about one-third, the salt was dipped out with a ladle into draining baskets placed over one side of the kettle where it was allowed to drain two or three hours, then dumped into the salt bins where further drainage occurred, and it was sometime before it became marketable. These kettle-blocks were operated continuously the whole 24 hours, producing about 75 barrels.

The "pan-block" was a great improvement. The pans were made of quarter-inch boiler iron, and were from 90 to 120 feet long, ten or 12 inches deep, and 12 or 15 feet wide. For more economic use, they were divided in three sections, for the first section where the fire beneath was the hottest, boiled first, hence would be emptied much sooner than the second and third sections. Like the kettle-block, the pan rested on three walls, one in the center, thus forming two flues the length of the pan to the chimney, and the firing was done at the opposite end. Later, when fuel became of more value, an improved form of the above was built having a return flues, thus economizing the heat, and also through much improvement in other ways, the product of the kettle-block was

nearly doubled. When it was realized that the exhaust steam from the great engines used to run the sawmills could be readily utilized in salt-making, the steam-block came, and as it was the cap-sheaf of the processes until the end of salt-making in the region, it will be a little more particularly described

First of all, brine must be provided, and to old-timers, the sight of the drill-houses were familiar ones, for they towered upward from fifty to seventy-feet, looking like gable-roofed shanties with a sort of steeple at one end. They housed the engine driving the pump, and the tower was necessary to get room to insert the tools used in drilling the well, the casing or the long rods connecting up the pump for pumping up the brine, which came from an average depth of about 800 feet. Good wells gave from 400 to 600 barrels of brine per day, which flowed into huge settling tanks built high up on piles or on framed timbers to permit the brine to flow by gravity into the salt-block. They held 25,000 gallons or more, and were built of sound plank usually three inches thick. The brine contains a small percentage of iron held in solution by an excess of carbonic acid. If this iron was not extracted, it would give the salt a red color, so as soon as the settling tank was filled, a proper quantity of fresh-slaked lime was prepared, making a "whitewash" solution which was sprinkled over the brine. It was then thoroughly stirred until the lime was well mixed with it. It was then allowed to stand for forty-eight hours, and became crystal-clear, the iron with the lime, having a chemical affinity, was precipitated to the bottom. About six inches above the bottom of the bottom of the settling tank, a pipe had been inserted leading to two large "inside" settlers within the block-building, each about 140 feet long, nine feet long and four feet deep. Each of these was fitted with four-inch galvanized iron pipes through which steam flowed, heating the brine to 175 degrees Fahrenheit. "This heating did two things. It threw down the gypsum which exists in the brine as a sulphide, and it evaporated the water, 75 per cent of which must be thrown off in vapor before chrystalization takes place."
The "grainers", of which there were four, each 150 feet long, 10 feet wide

and 18 inches deep, through which also ran four-inch galvanized pipes heated by steam, exhaust during the day and "live," that is, directly from the boilers at night. These grainers were low enough for the brine from the settlers to flow into them. Presuming that the grainers are filled with brine, and the steam passing through, when a temperature of 175 degrees is reached, a film of salt begins to form over the surface of the brine. Previous to this time the salt-maker (foreman) has passed along the several grainers, dropping bits of rancid butter into the brine at intervals, for it had been learned that by this slight oily film on the surface, the salt forming beneath it, was precipitated in even grains, where without it, the crystalization would not be perfect. It took twenty-fours of this silent energy to complete the work, when the accumulated salt was ready to be "lifted"- taken with hoe and shovel from the grainers, lengthwise of which over their center, runs a platform upon which the salt is shoveled and left to drain until it is ready to be wheeled into the bins. To do this lifting, eight men were employed, each having his "stent," along the length of the grainer. When the grainers were emptied, they were again filled and the process repeated. Connected with the salt bins was the packing room, where the salt was barreled and rolled into the storage shed which had a capacity of 25,000 barrels.

This description was of a certain Saginaw salt works, and will serve as a type of the others.

It remains to describe the method of solar manufacture, by which the sun alone furnished the heat for the process. Owing to the nature of the operations, a great deal of ground space was required. A series of "covers" or shallow wooden vats 16 by 18 feet and six to eight inches deep were built on sound foundations two or three feet from the ground, and arranged in long sets or "strings." Each vat had to have a movable cover or roof which could be run on or off to protect or expose the brine according to the weather. At the end of the strings of covers, and somewhat higher and deeper, were the strings of settling covers, into which the brine was led from the store-cisterns. No lime was used in this process owing to a difference of conditions, and the lengthy time required by the whole process, the precipitation of the iron follows the long exposure to the air in the settling covers.

The time required to produce a crop of salt depended on the weather,- from six weeks to two months. There were three crops a season, the first about the middle of July, the second in the early part of September, and the last at the end of October. The second crop was generally the best, as the crystals were the largest, a desirable quality in "rock salt" as this product was commonly called, and the author remembers that in his early years in Eastern New York, no salt was considered the proper kind to use for salting pork in the barrel except rock salt, the product of the great works at Syracuse.

The crop was gathered by first loosening the crystals from the bottom of the covers with a rake or spud. It was then washed in the "pickle" or brine left in the covers and "gathered" to the side of the "street" or lane between the strings, and shoveled into draining tubs, there to remain for a short time, then wheeled to the salt bins for further drainage, for at least the legal period of fourteen days. During unsettled weather, the covering and uncovering of the "covers" was a rather tedious task, and by 1888, steam had superceded the sun almost entirely in the Saginaw Region, for of 1,506,000 barrels made only 26,174 were solar.

With some temporary fluctuations, the price of Michigan salt steadily decreased from an average price per barrel in 1866 of $1.80 to $.58-½ in 1888. Around the latter date, or not long after, a rather peculiar situation arose, and while the exact figures are not recalled, it was about as follows: a barrel of salt brought between fifty and sixty cents the barrel alone costing the salt manufacturer one cent more than half of what the barrel of salt, sold for, on in other words, the seller got 51¢ for his barrel of salt, and the barrel cost him 26 cents. It is the author's impression that the figures are correct, for salt dropped to an unheard-of low price.

We have seen that from what would otherwise be waste, stave, barrel-heads and lath were produced. The barrel stock was mostly used by the producers to make barrels for their own salt. Most of them had their own cooper shops employing a number of men, so that the barrel business was a direct product

of the salt enterprise, for otherwise much of the material used would have gone into firewood. In 1888 alone in the Saginaw Region, a million-and-a half of barrels were used for packing salt. There were a few large cooper shops making barrels for those mills not producing cooperage material.

In the preceding pages we have attempted to show upon what foundation the present enterprises of the Saginaw River cities and Midland rest. In this picture Flint and Owosso do not enter, for LUMBER AND SALT had little to do with their growth and prosperity. Pine lumber and its incidental product, salt, were the chief if not the only factors, in the other cases. Both are now gone, but in Midland we have a"by-product" of the salt brine that has built a remarkable city, with outlying "wards" in other states than Michigan, for sea-water from the Atlantic, and brine from other points has been utilized to manufacture certain of the many products originating in Midland, for literally, much of Saginaw and some of Bay City's foundations are not so deep or so briny, for theyrest on pine slabs and pine sawdust - West Genesee Avenue for instance, for its entire length from theMichigan Central Railroad eastward to the bridge, is founded on slabs and sawdust, and in the very heart of the East Side business district, an excavation a few feet deep, reveals the same kind of material that went to build our cities, and was just the refuse of what gave a national fame to the name, SAGINAW. There are still many homes in both Saginaw River cities still resting on cedar blocks, and in 1887, there were few on any other foundation, while our pavements were cedar blocks with very few exceptions. Except in the business districts, the sidewalks in the same year were entirely of pine plank, largely an inch and a half thick, laid lengthwise, but about that time, the N. & A. Barnard Company had began to cut hemlock, and much of the short lengths were cut five and six feet long and two inches thick, dressed one side, and gave the city a new type of walk laid crosswise. The "pavement" of some streets, such as Water (now Niagara) from Bristol to Genesee, was sawdust, and this also true of other streets in the low grounds on both sides of the river. Bay City also had the same conditions, but as our story ends with the end of the century, comparisons will not be made with the present.

CHAPTER XV
NAVIGATION

The Saginaw River furnished a navigable waterway from its beginning at Green Point to Saginaw Bay, and in this distance, aside from some of the short bends that made the handling of sailing craft difficult at times, the worst obstruction was the Carrollton Bar opposite the settlement of that name, though at a medium stage of water, the schooners, sloops and occasional brigs were able to get up to the docks at Saginaw City without much difficulty and in due time, the Federal Government dredged the channel, and built diverting walls of piling and plank forming a revetment, that kept the channel open. All this however, came at a much later date, and in the years from 1835 to 1845, it was more convenient and cheaper to get flour from Owosso as well as certain other commoddities, than it was by vessel from Detroit or across country to the uncertain mill at Flint. As a consequence, the improvement of the Shiawassee River from its mouth to Owosso was started. For the largest boats available, the stream from Chesaning down, needed but little attention, but from that point southward considerable work was necessary.

Years later when St. Charles came into being, the Bad River from there to its mouth was cleared of some minor obstructions, and for a time, regular trips were made by a small stern-wheeler, and even as late as 1890, baled prairie hay and wood were brought down to Saginaw on one of these boats. Just above the mouth of Bad River, and partly resting on its left bank, the remains of the old Signet were lying. Her boiler exploded here, blowing the captain, the late Isaac Parker Sr., and the engineer into the river, injuring the latter, and if some vague information is correct, causing him to die from his injuries.

The Tittabawassee also had its regular run of steamboats, and it was not until the Tittabawassee Boom Company ceased operations that all the bridges on it in Saginaw County were required to have draw-spans to accommodate the tugs, lighters and other craft using its waters. Some of the brick yards brought down much of their product on lighters.

The Cass River was not navigable far above its mouth except for small craft, but when the first Hubinger Mill was built at Frankenmuth, its machinery was loaded on a scow or lighter, and laboriously poled up the Cass to its destination in moderately high water, for at low water, it would have been impossible.

In 1839 the State Legislature passed an act authorizing a company to improve the navigation of the Flint from Flint Village to its mouth, but nothing was ever done, but of the Shiawassee River there was actual work done, and from an account prepared by the author some years ago, we give the following summary.

EARLY NAVIGATION ON THE SHIAWASSEE RIVER

During the period of "internal improvements" and wilcat banks in Michigan, about the most sensible effort to improve the waterways of the State, was the organization of the "Owosso and Saginaw Navigation Company" in 1837. Quoting from a history of Shiawassee County we read "The company ... commenced the work in 1837, and continued it during that and the following year, expending several thousand dollars on the river in removal of obstructions (principally between Chesaning and the mouth of the Bad River), erecting dams and constructing tow-paths above Chesaning. The river was thus made navigable for flat-bottomed boats or scows, several of which were built with foot-boards on each side, on which men walked forward and aft in 'poling' the craft up the stream. This poling process was employed on that part of the river below Chesaning, but above that place horses were used. At some points the tow-path was made on the east side of the stream, and at others on the west...Larger boats were afterwards used for floating products down the river from Owosso. One "Durham" boat, built at that place...carried a cargo of two hundred barrels of flour from Owosso to Saginaw."

Later a lock was built at Chesaning near the present dam, but no relic of it remains so far as known to the author. In Beer's "Atlas of Saginaw County," on page 112, there is a plat of "Havanna" where the Parshall Mill is located, and in the bend of the river at the bottom of the map we see a place indicated with the following notation: "J.B. Griswold, in ascending this stream forty years ago with a boatload of merchandise had it wrecked at this Point."

This boating continued during favorable stages of water for about fifteen years, or until the opening of the Detroit and Milwaukee Railroad when it was entirely discontinued.

About the last of July, 1910, the author noticed a schooner loaded with hardwood lumber, tied up at the old Michigan Central Dock near the foot of Mackinaw Street and her patriotic name, "Red, White and Blue," was quite attractive, as well as the fact that at that late date a sailing vessel was seldom seen in Saginaw. In a conversation with her owner and captain, Frank Wallace, it was learned that she was built at Oakley by Captain Wallace in 1887. As laid down, she was fifty-one feet long, seventeen feet beam, and four feet depth. After the work was well under way, an examination of the river below Chesaning revealed the fact that about four miles of the channel above the mouth of the Bad River was filled with flood-wood, logs and other debris, and that instead of a single navigable stream, there were three or four small creeks winding about through the obstructions. It seems that this "flood-wood" as it was locally called, had formed during some great freshet subsequent to the Civil War, but just when has not been learned.

As a consequence, Captain Wallace found that the easiest way out of the dilemma was to move the unfinished hull to St. Charles, which was done by loading it on sleights, and four teams of horses pulled it to that place, the trip taking two days. At St. Charles she was completed, and for five years was mostly in the cedar trade, running out of AuGres to Detroit and other ports. Business was good, and she earned her owner $1,400.00 the first season. About 1892 she was taken to her launching place at St. Charles where she was beached, cut in two, and lengthened to seventy-seven feet, seventeen feet and six inches beam, and four feet depth, with a gross tonnage of forty tons from Captain Wallace's figures, although the official "Register for Merchant Vessels" of 1896 give a slightly different figure. Her capacity was about 50,000 feet of pine lumber of 55 cords of cedar. As her draft was only two feet light and a little over four feet loaded, she was able to get into shallow harbors. Once she was wrecked on Saginaw Bay, her captain related, and like himself, had weathered many a storm.

Aside from the running of logs, which was all-important, the river traffic above Saginaw was as shown, insignificant, but the marketing of lumber and salt was important, and today when we see the paucity of river craft, a few great cargo-carriers only, bringing coal, gravel and one or two other commodities and nothing more, it seems hard to believe that in a single representative year, 1888, over four hundred and fifty million feet of lumber was shipped by water, along with nearly seventh-six million of shingles, the balance of the lumber cut of 881,000,000 feet, going out by rail, while in 1884, over three-fourths of the lumber, about seven hundred and thirty-five million feet went by water.

In 1884, 502 steamers and 1447 schooners and barges entered the ports of the Saginaw River, and 534 steamers and 1486 schooners and barges cleared (left) the same ports. The difference between vessels entering and clearing is in part accounted for by the fact that a considerable number of vessels wintered in the Saginaw River. A comparison of the figures for the two years shows the great increase of rail shipments, but in its heyday, water transportation when measured in the number of vessels and millions of feet transported is impressive. The "barges" above mentioned, were in their day, used largely for moving lumber to eastern and Ohio ports; they usually carried a single mast, or at times, two masts, to which was attached a large "fore and aft" sail, which was used to aid in their propulsion, for they were towed by steamers as consorts, at times two or three of them. The schooners were fairly large vessels of their type, and aside from river navigation, sailed under their own power, and if favorable winds prevailed, saved towing charges by working their way up to Saginaw. Usually, they had little difficulty in getting to Bay City unaided. There were a good number of tugs, lighters, pile-drivers, two or three dredges, all owned and operated on the river, and not entering and clearing like the freighters, but accounted for on the Government records. Two or three of the Saginaw/tugs were and Bay City equipped as fire tugs, carrying powerful pumps and sufficient hose for their needs and the repeated blowing of a mill whistle at short intervals sent them scurrying to the location if not tied up in a tow, and they thus supplemented

the fire departments quite efficiently in river-front fires. One of them, the Tom Dowling, had a siren, which was a notable instance of unwelcome sound at times, perhaps a forerunner of the loud-speaker and blaring radio nuisance of today. There were one or two sand-suckers, which sucked sand from the river-bed, clean sand for building purposes. The loading of the sand was easy for the crew, but the unloading with shovel and wheelbarrow, not so easy.

For years there was moreor less shipbuilding at Saginaw, the product being small vessels, such as sloops, schooners, an occasional brig, along with a few steamers of small tonnage, but at Bay City, some of the largest and best vessels on the Great Lakes in their day were built at the Davison or Wheeler shipyards at Bay City, and incidentally, Bay City became the greatest commercial fishing port on the GreatLakes, while there was also a considerable commercial catch at Saginaw up to the time that net-fishing was prohibited on the Saginaw or its tributaries.

The river-channel was marked by spar bouys, not too many of them either, while today an elaborate system of lighted bouys supplement the numerous spars.

Regular lines of passenger and package freight boats were maintained between Saginaw and Detroit, Alpena and other points, while to Bay City and intermediate stops, passengers were carried at a low fare, and late in the century, "The Boy Line,"-The "Handy Boy," "News Boy" and "Plow Boy" made regular trips. One or two were converted tugs, and while they served the purpose, they were rather crude conveyances. To offset their primitive accommodations, the Metropolis and the Wellington R. Burt, flat-bottomed side-wheelers with a single engine which at every turn gave a slight "push" or extra impulse to the paddle-wheels, were purely excursion boats, sometimes running to Point Lookout, or making shorter trips to the Bay and back from Saginaw and Bay City. The Arundel, a twin-screw propeller, was also used as an excursion boat for a season or two, and it seems to the author that she was provided with state rooms for longer trips. A rather large proportion of the men of the cities owned row-boats: a few had small "yachts," as they were called, equipped with

steam engines, and were much used by their owners. They were in strong contrast with the present "speed boats" which have only one merit-speed-with two or three outstanding demerits. At times, sanity may be hoped to enter into some of our supposed recreations or sports, for sometimes noise becomes a positive nuisance.

Like the pine lumber, the passenger boat has disappeared. Has it gone forever? We know not, but in its day it furnished pleasurable transport, and may again: now it is just a nostalgic memory.

CHAPTER XVI
RAILROADS

The subject of railroads may be rather prosaic to many people, but to others who have marked their beginnings, their growth, and sometimes decay, there is not only much romance, but also a sense of their extreme usefulness in the progress of our country.

Some years after the Civil War, a school of political economists arose having as their chief basis, a rather unintelligent hatred of railroads, their builders and operators. Man has progressed largely by trial and error and railroads were no exception, for they were very largely experimental. For instance, would it pay to lay a line of rails from coast to coast? Some said yes and some said no, but with the aid of land grants they were laid, and in return, the Government was granted special privileges which in the end was a burden to the roads, and a hand-out to the Government in return for the land-grants which had cost itNOTHING. The question of the roads paying, was different: where was the traffic to come from? From the Mississippi to the Golden Gate, fifteen hundred miles-largely mountains and plains whose inhabitants werebuffalo-hunting Indians to a large extent. There were men of clear vision those days, but they could not live to see the fruits of their dreams come into reality; they could not live long enough, and it came about that they were harassed by financial troubles: even the Government at times failed in its pledges. Then came forced sales by men who had to have money, and sooner or later, panic followed, and a crop of economic quakes, self-seeking politicians and place-hunting demagogues, along with misguided people of good intentions, ruthless swindlers, crazy speculators, a few far-sighted men

who saw the solution of the troubles, but whose voices were drowned in the chorus of reprobation. Trial and error with no chance to correct the error: a jumble of conflicting opinion among good men, with a grand opportunity for the demagogue, but in the end, after all had been said and done, the railroads had built up the Great West, and as a reward, their condition today is a good example of the saying that "Republics are ungrateful."

It is not until near the period of the Civil War that the people of Saginaw felt the need of a railroad, and even then, there were those who were not in favor of it, for it seemed to them that adequate means of transport were afforded by river and lake, and that the time was not yet ripe for the expenditure of the large sums necessary. It is even possible that a few who were interested financially in vessels may have had a selfish motive, but if true, it is also possible that similar motives may have influenced some who favored the railroad. Be that as it may, a company was organized on January 21, 1857, to build a railroad from Pere Marquette (Ludington) to Flint and under the Land Grant Act of Congress, the work was started in August, 1858, and up to March, 1859, ten thousand dollars had been spent in grading, and on August 19th of that year, the first rail was laid at the edge of the Saginaw River, but it was not until January 29th, 1862, that the road was opened to the public to Mount Morris, and it was not until December 8th of the same year that it was extended to Flint, having its station on the north side of the river. From there stages took passengers to Holly or Fentonville (Fenton)where connections were made with the Detroit and Milwaukee Railroad. In 1864, another company completed a railroad from Holly to Flint, and by an arrangement between the two companies, the Flint and Pere Marquette was extended across the Flint River, and thereafter trains ran from East Saginaw to Holly. In 1868 the two roads were consolidated under the name of the Flint and Pere Marquette Railroad. The railroad bridge across Saginaw River was built in 1867, and in 1868, the road was opened to Averill: in 1870, to Lake Station: in 1871 to Reed City, and in 1874 to Ludington.

In 1867, the Bay City and East Saginaw Railroad, built mostly by Bay City men, was added to it, and in 1871, it took over the Holly, Wayne and Monroe Railroad, and completed it to Toledo in 1872. Branches running regular trains were built or acquired from Coleman to Beaverton; Coleman to Mount Pleasant: Clare to Harrison and Meredith: Manistee Junction to Manistee, and Flint Junction to Otter Lake, and before the beginning of the 20th century, it had also acquired the Port Huron and Northwestern, a narrow gauge road with several branches which entered the East Saginaw Station over a third rail, and also another narrow gauge road, the Saginaw, Tuscolaand Huron, which also entered over a third rail. As the Flint and Pere Marquette passed through the heart of the pine region, it had in the aggregate, over a hundred miles of spurs running into the pine woods, and some of the old abandoned grades later became public roads. The whole story of this strictly Saginaw Railroad cannot be told in this historical summary, but it served as an invaluable asset as an east and west line, and contributed vastly to the growth and settlement in its territory. The names of Dr. Henry C. Potter, William F. Potter, Sanford, Frank and Dexter Keeler, William L. Webber, H.C. Potter, Jr., David Edwards, Gilbert Ledlie, Arthur Patriarche and scores of others, from engineers, conductors and trainmasters to superintendents are still remembered with feelings of kindly regard, yes, high admiration, by gray-haired men who knew the story and helped to make it.

Dr. Potter, long President of the Flint and Pere Marquette, had for years a dream which while it largely came true, did not bear all the fruit he hoped for. Among the author's possessions is a set of engineer's drawings for a bridge across the Saginaw River and Green's Bayou in the south side of the present consolidated city, which was a large factor in Dr. Potter's project. In those days of 1886 and 1887, men walked to their work, some of them long distances, one, two, three or even more miles. They carried substantial dinners (not vest-pocket "lunches"); went to bed at nine, and had to be up at five-thirty. The two Saginaws were sprawling municipalities covering about fifteen square miles with great open spaces and most of the industries near the river, with a few, such as planing mills and sorting

yards farther back; and Dr. Potter's idea was a belt line around the outskirts largely, of both cities. Primarily, his idea was to furnish cheap transportation to workers something like the commuters' trains of New York City or Chicago, and second, to encourage the location of factories away from the residential parts of the cities. The idea found favor with the directors, and the work was done, being completed before 1890. The road already had a passenger and freight station on what is now Fordney Avenue just beyond where it bends southeast beyond the Mackinaw Street Bridge, and had run a "stub" train from the Potter Street Station to pick up passengers from Saginaw City. This line as a freight track, extended southward to the East Saginaw Waterworks. To extend this branch across the river, a right of way was secured and the bridges mentioned were built, the track continued on through what is now the Malleable Iron Works, to the Michigan Central Railroad, crossing it as at present, and from there northward to Mershon's where it joined the main line, thus making a complete steel belt around the city. A very fine station was built at Court Street, a substantial one at Mershon's, and the Belt Line was ready for business. All Grand Rapids trains ran over the F. & P.M's tracks from Potter Street to the Michigan Central crossing or junction mentioned, which was named Fordney after our noted Congressman Joseph W. Fordney. A morning and evening train circling the city over the Belt Line was put on, but this did not prove to fulfill the expectation that it would pick up many working men to and from their work, for its patronage was almost nothing, but as long as main line trains were well filled with passengers, the Court Street Station was maintained, and was a great convenience to West Side people, especially those west bound, for it saved a three-mile trip each way to Potter Street and the additional time it took in addition. At one time Saginaw had eight passenger stations: six of them are only memories as is the upper belt line bridge.

The second railroad to enter Saginaw was the Jackson, Lansing and Saginaw which was completed to Saginaw City in 1867. In 1871 it passed into the

hands of the Michigan Central, which also has a branch from Saginaw to Denmark Junction on the Bay City-Detroit Division. The third railroad was the Saginaw Valley and St. Louis, organized May 17, 1871, and opened for business January 1, 1873, from St. Louis to Paines, from which it enters Saginaw over the Michigan Central track. It was one of those railroads that "began nowhere and ended somewhere," and consequently never earned any dividends, and in fact, continually lost money, finally becoming a part of the Pere Marquette system, the successor of the Flint and Pere Marquette. None the less, it first became a link in the Detroit, Lansing and Northern Railroad by giving through train service from Saginaw to Grand Rapids, for previous to the absorption of the D.L.& N. by the Pere Marquette, it had been leased by the former.

The fourth and last railroad to be noted was the Toledo, Saginaw and Mackinaw, a Saginaw project, with all the officers and directors Saginaw men except one. It was chartered to run from Durand to Mackinaw City, but it is doubtful if its promoters ever expected to get farther than Bay City. It was completed in 1888, and finally extended to Wenonah Beach where a large coal mine was served for some years. At the time it was projected, it was said that a desire to establish more competition with the Michigan Central in the matter of salt transportation to Chicago and Western points, was the moving thought of its incorporators. A long spur from its main line was built extending westward and southward to South Saginaw and the lumber plants along the river. From this long spur, a branch turned northward over a long trestle after having crossed the F.& P.M., Belt Line southwest of the present waterworks. This trestle crossed the bayou, thence along the east side of the island north of Court Street (Rust Drive) to a point not far from the Bristol Street Bridge. At that time, the Emerson Bayou (Lake Linton) was, under Federal Law, navigable water, and a draw bridge admitted vessels to the long dock formed by the trestle. The proposal was to load salt on lighters at the salt works, tow them to this dock, and transfer the salt to cars. Whether any was ever so handled is not known to the author, but he has never heard that it was used for that or any other purpose. Whether it was built for the reasons given is a moot question. It was not long

before the road passed into the hands of the Grand Trunk Railroad by which it is still operated.

The Port Huron and Northwestern Railroad was long handicapped by its gauge, three feet; it seems to have been a Port Huron project, while the Saginaw, Tuscola and Huron was sponsored by Saginaw men, and had its office in Saginaw, the fine building of Bay Port stone on the east side of North Washington St., near Potter. Both roads when acquired by the Flint and Pere Marquette, were changed to standard guage, between them, they furnished railroad facilities for practically all of the Thumb, although the Pontiac, Oxford and Port Austin Railroad, beginning at Pontiac and ending at Caseville, a north and south line nicknamed "The Polly Ann," just a hundred miles long, was serving a few Thumb villages. It was chronically in financial straits, finally passing into the hands of the Grand Trunk.

As a rule, the owners of American railroads have never reaped much profit from them, but "the railroads" have been of much use to political demagogues, a comparatively few speculators and manipulators, and between them first and last, most of the railroads in the country have been wrecked. Inadequate rates, harassing regulations, prejudiced interstate commerce decisions, arbitrary fines assessed against "companies" that should have been assessed against individual employes, with strikes have combined to put many of them either out of business, or at the best, to unite non-paying lines with some that were profitable, and thereby sooner or later, putting all in a precarious situation. Arbitrary restrictions and inadequate income has not operated for the best interest of our people as a whole. Forcing a person, company or corporation by law to furnish service at less than cost cannot result in anything except a reaction on the whole people. The loss or wrecking of a public service is not just a loss to a few hundred or a few hundred thousand stockholders who own it; it is a public loss.

CHAPTER XVII
STREET RAILROADS AND INTERURBAN LINES

We must pass over local transportation quite briefly, but Saginaw City in particular, presented certain interesting features that gave its first and best street railroad a reputation not merely local, but not to use the high-flown terms of American self-praise which would say national, it did have through traveling men throughout the East and Middle West, the reputation for many years and up to the time it went into the hands of far less competent men, of being the best in the whole territory from Eastern New York to the Mississippi. This line which started in 1863, in 1887 ran from Mackinaw Street along Hamilton to Cleveland, thence to Michigan, on to Genesee to the Bancroft Hotel, about two and one-half miles. Its barns were on North Hamilton, and there at frequent intervals the horses were changed, for the teams were never allowed to become jaded unless under exceptional instances. The space between the tracks was paved with small cobblestones except the stretch from the Michigan Central track to the bridge where the road ran on a pile trestle on the extreme north side of the street, a bridge, as it were, across the Davenport Bayou and the succeeding marsh and low ground eastward. For this stretch, there was plank between the rails. Near the eastern end on the north side, there stood a row of dilapidated shanties of the unblessed "Phoenixville" type and inhabited by a similar population. The author recalls that one day or night one of these rookeries took fire. The fire department responded to the alarm, but further than helping the distracted occupants to get their personal effects out, they wisely let "Rotten Row" as it was rightly called, to become "a total loss with no insurance."

The fare on this line was five cents, and no one grudged the price, but traveling men often made some of those "odious comparisons" with the East Saginaw line that left a bad feeling in the minds of some of the people on the east side of the river.

The employes were well-paid, and as for the horses, their care and feeding was strictly attended to. The company owned or leased a large farm, and if a horse developed a sore foot, or showed signs of needed prolonged rest, he was at once taken off the line and turned out on the farm. The stable-boss and superintendent

were always on the lookout for trouble, and there were always plenty of picked horses to fill vacancies. A twenty-minute service was maintained during regular hours between the Taylor House (Fordney) and the Bancroft.

In 1864, a company was formed in East Saginaw which built a street railroad from the Potter Street Depot to the center of Salina. (South Saginaw), but it was not until years later that a line was run out Genesee. As compared with the Saginaw City line, both equipment and service were poor, but it was said that it averaged up with similar service of other cities.

It has been well and truly said that as long as these lines were in the hands of real business men, and unhampered by petty politicians, unfair taxes and restrictions that they were reasonably profitable, but when these elements entered the picture, there was no profit but a steady loss. The name of Jacob Seligman has been well-known in Saginaw. Men of his type have provided amusement, but seldom anything more substantial, and the story of his entering the street railroad business is the best kind of an example of the folly of a city, as well as the truth of the old saying "Let the shoemaker stick to his last" for while a mountebank perhaps has some use, it is only as such, and Seligman's showmanship was the entering wedge of final disaster. Lines on the West Side were built paralleling those of the old line, and others were built where there was not enough business to pay for the oil used to lubricate the axels of the cars. The result was that neither line paid, forcing eventual consolidation and final bankruptcy.

The coming of electricity as a motive power revolutionized city transit, and brought scores of interurban lines often paralleling steam railroads to the detriment of the latter, and in the long run, benefitting no one except lawyers. They had a legitimate place but not in competition with steam except within narrow limitations. Their right of way was cheaply acquired, little grading was necessary, and the equipment comparatively cheap. They furnished rapid transit to the whole stretch of their routes, picked up and let off passengers at every cross-road, and could safely run at high speed

which could be attained very quickly after starting. Saginaw had several, but as they were mostly of the present century, will be noted only briefly.

One was projected to run from Saginaw to Vassar, and perhaps farther, but never got beyond Frankenmuth. Another line built by other parties ran from Saginaw to Bay City, crossing the Saginaw River twice, first over the Genesee Avenue Bridge, thence down on the west side of the river through Carrollton and Zilwaukee, and recrossed the river below the mouth of Cheboyganing Creek. These roads with others changes and extensions have disappeared leaving few traces except pictures, one of which appears in the June 26, 1949 issue of the Saginaw News. It depicts an interurban wreck, and is captioned as follows: "Spectacular accidents resulted when two of the big interurban cars came together. An idea of the damage caused by such a collision is gained from the picture...taken south of Frankenmuth Junction." As it happened, the author of this paper was on the ground shortly after this wreck and took several pictures. It was not a "collision:" it was a three-car train which was derailed near the tree in the background. Below the tree, the third car can be dimly seen in the News picture. A few persons were slightly injured.

CHAPTER XVIII
COAL AND ITS MINING

Early settlers in the Saginaw Region saw indications of coal, or even perhaps found some of it, for it outcropped quite prominently in the Shiawassee River at Six Mile Creek, that distance above Owosso; in the Flint at Flushing; slightly in the Cass at Tuscola, and in the Rifle above Omer. The author has picked out rounded pieces of "float coal-" fragments rounded by water action, high up in the gravel bank of the Flint by the Taymouth Fairgrounds just in the edge of Genesee County. These specimens were in place far above any known flood line, and quite possibly were deposited in the period of the receding ice-sheet that covered all this part of Michigan. These finds of the early settlers did not seem to stimulate either interest or desire for exploration for coal; there was plenty of wood,-too much of it - the settler said, but in 1859 when the drillers of the first salt well drilled through a vein of coal it created a mild

interest, but they were looking for SALT. Before this time there had been some mining near Corunna and Jackson where the coal was near the surface, but it was not until the eighteen-seventies that any definite exploration was done in Saginaw County. In his report for 1875, Dr. Carl Rominger, State Geologist says: "On the Tittabawassee River at Mr. Shattuck's farm, six miles west of Saginaw City, explorations have been in progress for several years back, by which the presence of a seam of coal has been ascertained. Last fall they commenced to sink a shaft to the coal bed..." This shaft may still be seen on the Shattuck farm about eighty rods southwest of the County Home, and a hundred rods west of the remains of the Shattuck Mill Dam, and the farmhouse. It seems that two drill-holes were sunk at about a quarter of a mile apart, finding good coal at 164 feet depth. Mr. Guy Shattuck, the grandson of the then owner, informed the author that the shaft was sunk to a depth of 112 feet when an opening was made in the rock from which a rush of water came, driving out the workmen, and effectally stopping all work. It was not until 1896 that the first mine in Saginaw County, the Saginaw Mine, the shaft of which was located west of the fair grounds was opened, and was a long producer. Previous to this, however, a mine had been opened at Sebewaing, but the coal was inferior in quality, and produced so much "sulphur," as the miners called pyrite, that finally it was operated for that mineral alone which was sold to manufacturers of sulphuric acid. An English miner of long experience informed the author that this mine produced the finest pyrite crystals he had ever seen, hundred of them perfect in crystalization and form.

Thus coal-mining had its beginnings in Saginaw and near-by counties, but as most of it took place in the present century, it will not be enlarged on. Altogether, there were wholly or in part in the city limits of Saginaw, thirteen coal mines, all producers except one, which had to be abandoned before production owing to bad roof, and in this plant a hundred thousand dollars had been invested it was said, but there was no way of determining underground conditions without sinking the shaft, and opening the entries. It was largely a total loss. The imaginary profits of coal-mining as figured by a certain

school of "economists," is well exemplified by the Federal Census of 1910, in which the returns on the invested capital in the Saginaw County mines was a little less than four per cent. The greatest profit in coal-mining in the Saginaw Region accrued to the receivers of royalty, the farmers and other land-owners, whose profts were net.

In 1905, a mining engineer was employed to make a survey reported that there were twenty-eight producing mines in Saginaw and Bay Counties, with a total production of 1,380,307 tons of which 1,350,000 tons were produced by nineteen mines. Coal like pine trees, had its place in the regional economy, but unlike pine, there can be no reproduction. Every ton burned is forever gone, even though its chemical elements remain unimpaired, but they have taken different forms and are lost to us as coal. Man cannot make coal, but he can plant trees. Then too, science with its marvellous possibilities, may make coal unnecessary, but it seems doubtful if it can ever supply a substitute for trees.

CHAPTER XIX
SUGAR BEETS AND WHITE BEANS

If the question is asked, "What have sugar and beans to do with the history of Saginaw," it might be answered that BEANS supplemented by salt pork, was the mainstay of the woodsmen and river-drivers of earlier days, and that the beans were almost exclusively shipped to Michigan from Vermont to feed the lumber and sawmill men in their camps, homes and boarding houses. As to the sugar, it went to the same men, more especially the woodsmen, in the form of molasses. The author recalls that in the middle eighteen-seventies, in New York State, the only white sugar was "coffee A," and that had a slight tinge of brown: it was fifteen cents per pound, and as men got about fifteen cents per hour, so an hour's work bought a pound of sugar, where today - 1949 an hour's work minus the income tax deduction, buys about fifteen pounds.

Wisely it has been said, that the man who makes two spears of grass grow where only one grew before, is a public benefactor, and the name of one man who for a time figured in our Saginaw population, SAMUEL G. HIGGINS, may well be awarded

the title. He was one of those legitimate "promoters" whose good works live on after him, for his endeavors were largely responsible for bringing to Michigan a realization than sugar beets could be grown with profit in this area, and that in the aggregate, thousands of workers would be employed in the growing and processing them into granulated sugar. Mr. Higgins did much more than that: he is dead and gone and all but forgotten as all of us will be who do not attain to high national figures.

As to beans, Michigan, instead of importing them, has become a chief producing state, the white pea bean having to a great extent, supplanted the navy bean of the earlier days, the main difference being in size, the navy bean being the largest.

Instead of eating Vermont beans, Michigan turned to growing them for herself, and all know what a staple crop they have become, for we are feeding other lumbermen to say nothing of pioneers from the opened can, of which there are several brands, but the author prefers them "like Mother used to bake," in what is now the long ago, and their flavor still lingers to remind an old man that youth comes not again, and that mother's baked beans at well past four-score, would have lost their flavor in part, for Memory only, preserves the original.

CHAPTER XX
LUMBER STATISTICS

The statistics of the lumber industry on the Saginaw River are of much interest to the historian and economist, but to the casual reader are of little moment, and for this reason we are recording as an appendix, some outstanding or representative figures, summarizing the production along with a few notes that may be of interest.

Beginning with 1851, careful records were kept of the sawmills on Saginaw River, although a fairly reliable figure put the cut of eleven mills at 8,000,000 feet. The following year it had climbed to 92,000,000 feet, which indicated a rapidly growing market and increased facilities for production.

From 1851 there was what may be termed a normal increase to 1863 in which 133,580,000 feet were cut, but the product of 1864 sharply advanced to 215,000,000 feet, due in part, to war conditions and demand, and by 1867, the cut was very largely increased.

From 1867 onward to 1882, in spite of the panic of 1873, there was in general, a steady increase in production, especially from 1878 to the peak year of 1882, when the Saginaw River Mills sawed 1,011,274,905 feet of pine lumber, and from that year to 1892 inclusive, the average cut was eight hundred million feet. The panic of 1893 brought a sharp drop, and to the close of the century the decrease continued from "natural causes" - the exhaustion of the supply of pine logs.

The enormous total, perhaps aggregating over twenty-five BILLION feet, brings us to figures reminding us of our present national debt which is ONLY ten times as much.

That the figures of this great production have been preserved and are available for use is a satisfaction to the historian, for other invaluable data has been completely lost. Much of the credit is due to the former Saginaw Courier, but more especially to its editor, EDWARD D. COWLES, as well as the Saginaw Board of Trade which sponsored and financed much of the work, and most of the statistica herein presented are to their credit.

In earlier days, GEORGE F. LEWIS especially with Wellington R. Burt, Charles B. Headley and Truman B. Fox were active in collecting the earlier figures, which were continued as noted in the preceding paragraph and reprinted from year to year.

In 1888, which may be used as a typical year, there were thirty-two saw mills in operation at Saginaw, Carrollton, Zilwaukee and one or two below the latter village, their total cut being 402,578,559 feet. (One mill burned May 1).

For Bay City, West Bay City and Essexville, the cut of thirty-one mills was 478,190,881 feet. (One mill burned Nov. 13 and another one Dec. 6.)

The largest cut of any Saginaw mill was that of Brown & Ryan, 27,231,158 and the largest Bay City cut, was that of H.W. Sage & Co., 33,000,000 feet.

SHINGLES

The first record of shingles manufactured was for the year 1865, with a product of 41,453,000. By 1872, the product had increased to over 150,000,000 and from that year to 1894 the cut averaged about 210,000,000 shingles per annum. For 1888, the output was 267,224,000. The largest production was in 1881, 304,925,500 shingles.

LATH

The records of lath production begin with 1866, 48,623,000 pieces, the peak year being 1884, with a production of 127,346,000 pieces, the average from 1866 to 1888 inclusive, being about 75,000,000 a year, with 1888, 110,966,945 pieces. Also that that year 600,000 fence pickets.

STAVES AND HEADING

There were two classes of these products, namely, pine for salt barrels, and elm staves for sugar and flour barrels. Of these we can only give the statistics for one year, 1888, although their manufacture began years before. At the Saginaws, 17,486,406 staves and 896,220 sets of heading of pine were made in that year, and at the Bay Cities, the figures were 15,869,894 and 987,245 respectively.

In 1888, the elm stave product was about 110,000,000, made mostly in small towns, such as Freeland, Reese, Fairgrove, Caro, St. Charles, Fergus, Alma, Merrill, St. Louis and other places, the product going mostly to eastern markets.

OAK STAVES AND OAK SQUARE TIMBER

Oak staves began to be made in 1860 or possibly earlier, and were of three sizes, barrel, hogshead and pipe, which reminds the author that when he went to school, one liquid measure ran as follows:

"4 gills one pint
2 pints one quart
4 quarts one gallon
31-½ gallons one barrel
2 barrels one hogshead
2 hogshead one pipe
2 pipes one tun"

In the shipments of oak staves for 1888 we find those for barrels, Indias (hogsheads) and pipes, a total of 1,300,000 pieces. In 1888, 150,000 cubic feet of oak square timber was produced. This was all presumably hewed by hand as was the general custom.

We can find no figure for the shaved hoop production, although there was quite a business done in that line, but as the entire product was handmade it did not enter into the records so far as known.

First and last considerable hardwood lumber was cut, but the only available figures are for 1880 and 1882:* for the former, 6,190,000 feet sawed, and for the latter year, 24,640,900. Notes in the Review for 1882 state that "of late years considerable attention is being paid to the manufacture of hardwood lumber, principally ash, oak, basswood, etc.," and that "The Trade in hardwood lumber is rapidly increasing and there is an almost inexhaustible supply."

Of the water shipments in 1888, about one-half went to Buffalo and Tonawanda New York, with a large percentage of the remainder going to Ohio ports, and then distributed southward. Less than a million and a half feet went to Chicago.

The Review for 1888 gives some interesting figures. In 1864 the Tittabawassee Boom Company was organized, and from that year to the close of its operations, careful records were kept. In 1864 the average board feet per log was 243.2: ten years later it was 171.9: in 1884, 124.6 and in 1888 it had fallen to 110 feet, less than half that of 1864. We see a progressive decrease, and the reasons are easily shown: only the choicest tracts, and what were called "good trees" were cut, and for a score of years a log had to be a good one indeed if it measured as low as ten inches inside the bark at the small end. Huge trees having hollows or streaks of rot, which had been rejected, began to be used, for from many of them some of the finest lumber could be cut, but in scaling (measuring their contents in (board feet), the scale was heavily cut. Poorer tracts and smaller logs were cut, and the log had gradually dwindled in scale to the figure of 1888.

Up to and including 1888, the Tittabawassee Boom Company had rafted out nearly fifty-seven and a-half million logs, scaling 8,875,248,571 feet.

To 1888 inclusive, the Huron Boom Company, operating on the Cass, had rafted 866,539,028 feet, while the Bad River Boom added 296,942,633 feet.

*For 1888, the hardwood cut was 30,274,661 feet.

There was some product from the Flint, but it was not recorded except as a small amount went into the Bad River operation.

The Rifle River was not, properly speaking, in the Saginaw Region, but the logs from it were nearly all sawed at Bay City, as were those from the AuGres, the pine, Sagining, and the Kawkawlin, all emptying into Saginaw Bay, from the AuGres up to and including 1888, there came 1,692,255,716 feet: from the Rifle, 1,581,131,367 feet: from the Pine and Sagining, 153,815,239 feet, and from the Kawkawlin 285,288,297 feet.

We have previously noted that many logs came directly by rail to the Saginaw River, beginning by the Flint & Pere Marquette about 1882, and by the Michigan Central in 1886, the total for the two railroads for 1888, being 188,183,028 ft.

In 1866, Michigan pine lumber was worth from $11.50 to $12.00 per thousand feet, and stumpage (the standing trees) value "on the stump" per thousand, was from $1.00 to $1.25 per thousand feet. In 1888, the sawed lumber was worth but little more, from $12.00 to $13.00 a thousand, while stumpage had advanced to from $5.00 to $7.00. The margin of profit in 1888 had been greatly reduced, but not as much as seems apparent, for improved machinery and transportation had reduced the cost of production somewhat: the mill that sawed ten thousand feet of inch boards in 1866 had been replaced by the one cutting ten times as much. There are many interesting factors entering into the price of lumber for the palmy days of the industry, and too much generalizing is misleading. Many lumbermen failed in business, and the successful ones were like other successful men in other lines. There was (and still is for some of us) magic in the word PINE, but in the word production, we have a new meaning, and that too, as used today, has a magic, but it is of a very different kind, and to some old men like the author, the Whispering Pines with their ever-present song; their balsamic odors and wistful memories have nothing in common with the magic of production which just means an auto every five minutes.

CHAPTER XXI
SOME NOTES ON SALT AND A FEW STATISTICS

Is there any romance in salt? We asked ourselves this question several times before coming to these concluding pages. Statistics are useful, yet too many of them in a non-technical publication are a surfeit, but in pine trees and their products, there seemed to be not only a special interest, but gives them a rare flavor. After a little thought, it occurred to us that SALT was a most essential seasoning for our food, a preservative for it, and that it had a hundred uses. It was so common that no one paid any attention to it,- but SUGAR! Well that was literally in everyone's mouth. It was a mainstay of the housewife, of the confectioner, the baker, the ice cream maker, and how it- many others? It had many biographers, hundreds of millions of lovers, and in its- self possessed a sweetness that made it a favorite with man, woman and child, but salt? Disguised in tablets it is a remedy for the condition that often occurs in extra hot weather, when sugar is taboo if not forgotten for the time being, and it seems to us that this saline tablet may well be a symbol of hidden virtues that from time to time appear in seemingly very prosaic humans, who are, after all, worthy of a little kindly attention to say nothing of appreciation. So of salt.

In his paper in Volume IV., Pioneer Collections of Michigan, on the salt interests in the Saginaw Valley, William L. Webber, writing in 1882 says: "The official reports of Dr. S.S. Garrigues, who held the office of State Inspector of Salt since the passage of the act providing for such inspection in 1869, contains these details. (Mode of manufacture, etc.) It seems proper here to say that his care and attention to the duties of his office,...have had a marked effect in giving the salt of the Saginaw Valley that predominance which it now has in the markets of the United States, as to quality, and which enables Michigan salt to compete in the valley of the Mississippi with foreign salt even as far south as Arkansas and Texas."

The above quotation from Mr. Webber's paper is to introduce Mrs. Adele K. Garrigues, wife of Dr. Garrigues, who continued in office until 1881. Both Dr. Garrigues and his wife are still remembered by some of the older Saginaw

people, and in their day had a large circle of friends. In 1880, a little book by Mrs. Garrigues, with the title, "Summer Boarders" appeared. It was one of those chatty, somewhat humorous little novels that came out in the "Victorian era," clean, wholesome and well adapted for light reading-something of which we have a decided paucity in these later days of flambouyant pornography. The scene is laid in "M" which stands for Midland, and in her opening chapter Mrs. Garrigues says; "M- was about twenty miles from the city in which we were then residing, and was at the time gaining celebrity, in virtue of certain mineral waters which had gushed forth from the earth in response to man's appeal for salt. Salt they did not find; but a man who had been for many years afflicted with rheumatism declared himself suddenly cured of his malady, while working in the crystal clear waters of this unfailing spring... 'When he departed, he spread abroad its fame throughout all that country.' From every State in the Union they came, a seemingly endless procession of the rheumatic, the paralytic, the lame, and the lazy, making vain pilgrimages in search of the fountain of immortal youth."

This particular "fountain of youth" was a veritable spring or salt well, and until quite recently the spring-house stood not far from the great Dow plant, and Mrs. Garrigue's description was very well remembered by the author of this paper, as well as the "commodious bath house" of the story which was "contiguous to an old mill," but the bath house was not an imposing structure "because it was situated under the hill instead of on its summit." The boarding house, the scene of some of the story, was erected near the spring, and is more or less mythical, but some of the "boarders" were real, and a weak briny flow the "mineral spring with high curative powers" also a reality; for the dream of the first proprietors has come true, if we only mention one standard remedy for the present "springs" of Midland-Aspirin- whether the fabled Bayer or under some other house - title, but ALL COMING FROM THE S AME BRINE, with people paying an extra price for a German name, which like some other things German has been a bad imposition on credulous people.

The little thread of romance in the book culminates in the great forest fire of 1871, which approached Midland and did extensive damage throughout the surrounding territory, and in the closing scene, one of its phases was well-described by Mrs. Garrigues.

In the Twenty-Fifth Annual Review of the Lumber, Shingle and Salt Product, for 1888, we are informed that prior to 1870, not a dollar was made in the manufacture of salt in Michigan, and that the first company organized lost practically all of its investment, and that a little later another company "planted $500,000, and subsequently sold out for $65,000." Several of these investors, yes, most of them, were "the lumber barons" of hostile "economists" and feature writers, but they were the men who made the salt industry possible and the Saginaw Region not only the greatest salt-producing area in the world, but made the cheapest salt.

The first salt-makers were totally inexperienced, and what little information they did possess was based on the New York and West Virginia salt-making. They did not know that the brine of Saginaw was not the same brine that was pumped at Syracuse. The Saginaw brine contained iron which made salt rusty; bromide of sodium which made it bitter, and gypsum which made it cake, all of these three impurities making it useless except for land fertilizer. It was a chemical proposition, and these Saginaw lumbermen were not chemists. They must get rid of these impurities, but how? At first it was naturally a matter of trial and error, but finally there was a crystalization of thought among those trying to produce a good salt, and at the solitication of the salt-manufacturers, a State law was passed, requiring a system of inspection and regulation which was compulsory. "To secure this enactment the salt-makers imposed upon themselves a tax to cover the expenses of the office." In addition, the Michigan Salt Association was formed to put the product on the market. It included all the prominent manufacturers, and through the inspection law, and the efforts of the association, the quality of Michigan salt rose rapidly, and a market was created. As a result, the meat packers of Chicago who only

used 36,571 barrels of Michigan salt in 1878, increased their purchases to 565.282 barrels in 1887. Michigan salt had gained a well-deserved reputation and market.

With the passing of the sawmill, came the passing of the salt-block. The drill houses, once a conspicuous sight along the Saginaw River are seen no more, and such properties as the old Barnard plant has largely grown up to forest, while the historic Williams Mill site, has degenerated into a second Phoenixville with all that implies. The first is picturesque but nostalgic to some of us; the other is disgusting and is a shame to the municipality. Shades of the William's; of de Tocqueville; of Douglass Houghton! The Williams Brothers never dreamed of such: de Tocqueville never prophesied it, nor did that little bundle of energy and spirit, Houghton, when he stood on the very ground there, and said to Gardner and Ephraim Williams "Here is as good a place to drill for salt as any in the region," imagine the present desecration.

In 1888, there were eight salt districts in Michigan, as follows: District 1, Saginaw County, fifty-two manufacturers making 1,050,265 barrels

Do.	2, Bay County, twenty-nine	Do.	Do.	805,834	Do.
Do.	3, Huron County, nine	Do.	Do.	163,209	Do.
Do.	4, St. Clair County, twelve	Do.	Do.	325,616	Do.
Do.	5, Iosco County, nine	Do.	Do.	346,369	Do.
Do.	6, Midland County, three	Do.	Do.	43,837	Do.
Do.	7 , Manistee County, nine	Do.	Do.	850,383	Do.
Do.	8, Mason County, three	Do.	Do.	280,715	Do.

A total of 127 manufacturers making the enormous total if 3,866,228 barrels

Divided as follows:	Fine salt in bulk,	590,690 barrels
	Fine salt in barrels,	3,129,629 barrels
	Common coarse salt,	13,915 Do.
	Packers, bulk	18,126 Do.
	Solar	26,174 Do.
	Second quality	87,694 Do.

The peak year for salt production was 1887, with a product of 3,944,309 barrels.

The total salt produced in Michigan to January 1, 1889, was the stupendous amount of 45,180,123 barrels.

We regret that we are unable to give the final figures of Saginaw Salt, but the above brief review shows how a great industry came to Michigan, but unlike the lumbering, did not exhaust the raw material, and who can say with assurance, that it will not return to the imperial position it held in 1888?

CHAPTER XXII
PROLOGUE

In closing this imcomplete story of the Saginaw Region, we find that it has nearly doubled the pages that were presumed to be sufficient. Throughout its preparation, the author has been handicapped by illness and necessary duties which has delayed its completion for more than two months, and perhaps marred its quality. It is not a series of biographical sketches, for we have tried to bring in individuals largely as symbols instead of personalities, and when this has been deviated from, it was with good reason, or perhaps unavoidable.

To one who like myself was born and grew to young manhood in a distant State but has lived over three-quarters of his life in Michigan, the differences of environment and of people were necessarily constrasted, but the bone and sinew, so to speak, of the lumbermen, the land-lookers, surveyors, and mill-men were from my native State and from Northern New England, such as Thomas Merrill from Maine, Curtis Emerson from Vermont and Aaron T. Bliss of New York, with others from those States and New Hampshire, whose names form a Roll of Honor. Then of a different mother-tongue were Achard, Bauer and Plessner: Mershon, Campau and Simoneau, all were of the days of the eighteen-seventies, and later, with some of them active a decade or two before, a long list forming a Roll of Honor, all before Saginaw and Flint became polyglot cities of two or three-score nationalities, and we recall the keen observation of de Tocqueville: we see his prophesy fulfilled, and even at that early day, fully recognized the differences, the sectarian variations and the racial traits of the handful of people he met.

Our great Melting Pot has melted: has it amalgamated the elements of the melt? We hope so, and it has taken two great wars to bring these elements into a closer acquaintance and fellowship, but the work is not complete. We know not what the future will bring, but we do know that the self-help of the American

Pioneer, and the free neighbor-help and cooperation in doing the things the individual alone cannot do has disappeared, and in its place, we have what? We ask the State to provide our schools: who is the State? We call on the National Government to build our roads: who is the Government, and when will we learn that "Government" is just ourselves, and that the more "government" "help us," the more it costs for office-holders doing a dime's worth of work for a dollar.

It is to the credit of one State that when unprecedented floods brought wholesale destruction to roads and bridges, that it decline national help, and said, "We will build our own roads and bridges," and when Federal dole was offered the same State said, "We don't want your Hole," and set an example that every State should have followed. The sneers about "rugged individualism" by demagogues found plenty to applaud, but the fact remains that whatever real greatness to which this country has attained, has been due to individual foresight, individual effort and individual accomplishment. Aside from simply governing, governments do things badly, usually VERY badly, and when we ask "the Government" to do for us what we should do for ourselves, we are trending toward endless confusion if not destruction. What of Ninevah and Tyre? What of Rome, of Babylon? "It can't happen here"? They said that in Rome. There are rumblings: is it of a storm? We can only ask again and again, "Watchman, what of the night?"

Fred Dustin,
August 11, 1949

APPENDIX

We have noted on page 76, the organization of Saginaw County as a township, and this seemingly anomalous situation needs some clarifying.

On September 10, 1822, Governor Lewis Cass, by proclamation declared "that the county herein 'laid out,' to wit: the county of Saginaw, shall be organized whenever, hereafter, the competent authority for the time being shall so determine, and that until then the said county shall be attached to, and compose part of the county now organized, in the following manner: The County of Saginaw shall be attached to and compose a part of the county of OAKLAND.

In the above proclamation, Governor Cass defined the boundaries of the county to take in the territory noted in the text, comprising fourteen of the present counties.

On March 2, 1831, the Governor approved an act which reduced Saginaw County to thirty-two townships, and defining its boundaries, which included all of the present Bay County as far north as the mouth of the Saginaw River, but it was not until January 28, 1835, that Saginaw County as last laid out, actually became a county, with the usual set of officers, among whom were Eleazer Jewett, Surveyor, he having before been a deputy-surveyor of Oakland County, while Albert Miller became the first Probate Judge. Up to 1835, Saginaw County had been a township of Oakland County, therefore, a county in name only.

By an act approved February 17, 1857, Bay County was to be created from parts of Saginaw, Arenac and Midland Counties, provided it was approved by the electors of said counties, but Saginaw and Midland did not approve, and the matter went to court, where it was finally decided that the vote of the new county alone was all that was necessary, and in 1858, Bay County won a decision in its favor.

Page 30: The Military Road

During the winter of 1822-1823, the Military Road from Flint to Saginaw, was cut through the woods along the line of the survey, by parties of soldiers from the fort under the command of Lieuts. Brooks and Bainbridge but it was not passable for wagons until twelve or fourteen years later, although in the winter, sleds were able to use it, and on other occasions before that, high-wheeled ox carts managed to get through.

Page 105: Plank Roads

Besides the Genesee and Gratiot Plank Roads, the East Saginaw and Vassar Plank Road, to Vassar, nineteen and one-half miles, and the East Saginaw and Watrousville Plank Road, about twenty miles, had been built, by 1868.

Bay City had the Bay City and Junction Plank Road joining the Watrousville Road in Blumfield Township, about twelve miles, and the Bay City and Midland Plank Road, completed in 1868, into Williams Township, Bay County.

"THE TOWN OF FLORENCE"

For many years the author was somewhat puzzled by occasional more or less vague references to the "Town of Florence." "Town" in New England means one thing, and "Township" as defined politically, is quite another. The New England Town is the primary unit of Government, and its functions include most of those usurped by the counties of the Middle West, with a result of very heavy county taxes in the latter, a purely political set-up with all its disadvantages and few benefits, with the townships having almost no functions whatever, and the "Town Meeting" more or less of a farce, where in the New England Town Meeting, the electors actually legislate and vote, item by item, on all proposals. The political and other "trading" under the township of the Middle West has never operated for the best interests of the various commonwealths.

Florence was not a town nor a township: in the proper sense of the word, it was not even a village, for the word implies a legal political entity-a corporation.

In Beer's Atlas of Saginaw County, published in 1877, a strip of land and water taking in nearly all of Davenport Bayou, now mostly filled in, and the land between it and the Saginaw River, was a part of Carrollton Township. Its south boundary was a line extended east from the south line of Houghton Avenue north and south to the Quarter Line of Sections 24 and 13, extending north along that line to Clark Street, and from that point northeasterly to the northern line of Saginaw City. It was a natural part of Carrollton, for we find when that Township was organized in 1866, after designating the chief lines bounding it, it reads: "and also including that portion of said township lying east of Saginaw City and the Saginaw river, known as the village of Florence, be, and the same is erected into a township, to be called and known by the name of the Township of Carrollton." C. Exera Brown, publisher of Brown's Directory for 1873-1874, remarks that "Florence is a small settlement of 449 inhabitants, situated between Saginaw and East Saginaw Corporation lines, extending from near the F. & P.M., railway bridge where it crosses the river, up the river to near Briston street Bridge. The place occupies but a narrow strip of land, only a few rods wide, and we are at a loss to know how or why it was that it ever became distinct from either of the two cities above named, except for the reason of

this tract having belonged to obstinate parties." He goes on to say that it is occupied chiefly by mills and salt blocks, an ashery, a hotel, several boarding houses, residences, store "and other places of business, a school with forty pupils." Perhaps Mr. Brown had not gone carefully through the records. The site was almost an island, and much of the land south and west of the bayou was a wet marsh, at times heavily flooded. Saginaw City's business center was two-and-a-half miles distant, with East Saginaw across the river, and it seems quite possible at that early day, what Mr. Brown thought was obstinacy was just good common-sense. There was nothing to be gained by the incorporation of that part of Carrollton with either East Saginaw or Saginaw City at that time except increased taxes. When the time came that annexation to Saginaw City was of some advantage, fairly adequate fire protection afforded, and a street opened southward from the settlement, it does not appear that there was any particular opposition to the union.

In some accounts, Florence has appeared as a township, and we find it called "village" in the organization of Carrollton Township, but Brown's statement in the heading in his directory description, "independent and complete in itself" is an error. Florence, like the twenty-first ward of Saginaw, was a natural consequence of growth in close proximity to a city, and affords an interesting point in the story of Saginaw.

SALINA-SOUTH SAGINAW

In 1848, Aaron K. Penney located land in what is now the heart of South Saginaw, and about ten years later, he sold it to William Gallagher, who laid out a village plat, calling it Salina, said to have been named owing to the development of the salt-making of that period. Four years later, the East Saginaw Street Railway was extended to the village, and in 1866, it was incorporated, its first village president being Theron Hubbard. It did not thus very long, for in March, 1873, by annexation it became a part of East Saginaw, thereby adding about three thousand people to its population.

Congressman William S. Linton, once pointed out to the author, the first house erected in the village, which was built by his father, Aaron Linton. It stands on the west side of Fordney Avenue not far from the Baptist Church. South Saginaw, like old Saginaw City, has always maintained a sort of separate existence as a business center.

RETROSPECTION

Edward Bellamy's novel "Looking Backward," is a curious compound of possible prophecy and positive fantasy, but the author's "looking backward" is quite different. It is not all prose, for there are light touches of romance. "Romance in a Pine Board" you say. Yes: if you followed the woodsman to the pine forest, and in the snows of winter watched his labor-chopping, sawing, hauling to the banking-ground, and then when the frosts of winter had changed to the warmth of early spring followed the river-drivers as they guided the hosts of pine logs out from the many tributaries of the Tittabawassee to boom limits; seen the Boom Compan's men take over, sorting, rafting and towing the logs to the mills and on through saw and trimmer to the great pile facing the river where for weeks the sawed boards rested in the great change that had taken place: then on steamer or barge to Buffalo, and transferred to canal boat to slowly move to Utica or Amsterdam or Albany, go through planer or other machine to at last come to a final rest in some dwelling, high or humble-"no romance?" We disagree, but unfortunately Michigan has had little authentic literature of this "story of the Pine" in the region of its greatest production.

As a matter of fact, there is only one classic in the literature of the Pine Tree, but it was by a man who as he said, "was reared among the pine forests of Maine, and spent several years of his life in active participation in many of the scenes delineated." In lumbering, methods have changed as greatly as they have in harvesting grain, but the Pine Tree State sent many of its sons to the forests of Michigan, and they took their methods with them, so that Michigan lumbering of 1888, was the pattern of Maine lumbering modified by quite different conditions. In his archaeological tramps over miles of formerly pine-covered lands, the author has

picked up a considerable number of ox-shoes, for in early lumbering, the ox in Maine and Michigan, was the motive power of the woodsman, and so pike-pole and peavy, "corked" calked boot and boom were Maine expedients or inventions and if any reader is interested in the detail of early lumbering, he is referred to John S. Springer's "Forest Life and Forest Trees" for the single volume that has preserved for us an authentic account of what the title of the book indicates.

Of the "prosaic" side of lumbering, it may be found among other things in statistics and prices, but it is of passing interest to have a glance at the changes that took place from 1888 to 1918, a period of only thirty years.

Among the author's possessions is a little hand-written three-page booklet inscribed on the front cover, Fred Dustin, Foreman," Price List, Jan. 1, '88." It was made for the author by Kimball & Merriam' bookeeper, and prices pine lumber in carload lots at that date. It lists twelve grades of pine lumber subdivided by over a hundred descriptions of widths, special uses and grades. The highest grade "uppers," inch boards, $41.00 per thousand feet. The second grade was $36.00: the third, $31.00: the fourth $24.00 to $28.00: the fifth, $15.00, and so on down to the ninth grade, $10.00.

By 1908, the four first grades had disappeared from the Saginaw lumber yards, and the lowest grade was $20.00 per thousand. In 1918, the same lumber yard offered only four grades, the highest, the former fourth grade, priced at $60.00 with the cheapest and poorest-formerly culls selling at $10.00- $35.00 to $38.00 per thousand. In 1949, pine lumber that sold in Saginaw in 1888 at from $11.00 to $13.00 was priced at over $100.00. The first twenty years of the author's work, was in the handling of pine lumber, in mill, lumber yard or as a builder of houses in which pine was the chief material, and has written this sketch largely out of his own experience and observation.